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THE CONTROL OF ENGLISH EPISCOPAL ELECTIONS IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

The election of bishops in the medieval church is a matter that has direct bearing on more than one question of moment in ecclesiastical history. The successive eliminations of the laity and the extra-capitular clergy from the electoral body, leaving the right of election in the hands of the cathedral chapters alone, obviously affected somewhat the position of the diocesan episcopate in the ecclesiastical economy; the influence on elections exercised by kings and princes was a considerable factor in the relations of the secular power with the hierarchy; the urgent insistence of popes that vacant sees be filled, their intervention in disputed elections, and papal provisions to bishoprics make up part of the story of the strengthening of the Roman jurisdiction over the western church. By no means is the question simply one of machinery, a topic in ecclesiastical polity barren of interest save to canonists. What the late Father Tyrrell called "the conception of the church as a boat in which the laity serve as ballast and the clergy do all the rowing" was furthered by restricting to the clergy the choosing of the chief pastors of the church; the active participation of king and Roman pontiff in episcopal elections involved the relations of each with the other as well as the relations of each with the electoral body—the cathedral chapter.

The conflict at the opening of the thirteenth century that resulted in England becoming a vassal kingdom of the Holy See had as its immediate occasion the refusal of a cathedral chapter, the Canterbury monks, to elect the king's candidate, and John's rejection of pope Innocent III's attempted compromise:—the

quashing of the two disputed elections and the choice of Stephen Langton as archbishop. In the struggle of the baronage and the crown, a struggle that began early in the reign but which for years was cast in the shade by the war with the king of France and the strife with the papacy, the same issue manifested itself: the opening chapter of Magna Carta promised freedom of election to the English church. An examination into English episcopal elections in the reign of Henry III, who was much under clerical influence, and in that of Edward I, when anti-papal feeling manifested itself, will show whether the promise of 1215—*Ecclesia Anglicana libera sit*—was fulfilled by these kings; and it may throw some light also on the influence exerted by the Roman court on the church in England.

Stephen Langton died in July, 1228. During the remainder of Henry's reign three archbishops occupied in succession the see of Canterbury: Richard le Grand, Edmund Rich, and Boniface of Savoy. The monks of Christ Church elected after Langton's death one of their own number, to whom both the king and the suffragans of the province raised objections;[1] the king's agent went to Rome,[2] where the election was quashed, and, in Matthew Paris's phrase, Richard le Grand, chancellor of Lincoln, "was not elected to the archbishopric but was given it."[3] In the mandate for the restoration to the archbishop-elect of the temporalities of the see, the choice is attributed to the pope;[4] but Richard seems to have been the king's nominee to whose support the pope was won over.[5] The next archbishop owed his position to the pope, who rejected three successive elections[6] before he "gave the monks power of electing master Edmund Rich"[7] and

1 MATT. PARIS, *Chronica Majora*, III, 157. (Rolls Series.)
2 SHIRLEY, *Royal and Historical Letters*, I, 339. (R. S.)
3 MATT, PARIS, III, 170.
4 *Patent Rolls, 1225-1232*, p. 242.
5 *Annales Monastici*, III, 116. (R. S.)
6 Ralph Neville, bishop of Chichester, was rejected by the pope, who received an unfavorable report of him. (Matt. Paris, III, 207-208). John, subprior of Canterbury, was induced to resign his election to the archbishopric. (*Les Registres de Gregoire IX*, no. 822. This and other papal registers cited are in the *Bibliothêque des Ecoles Francaises d'Athénes et de Rome.*) The third election, that of John Blund, which received the royal assent 30 August, 1232, (*Patent Rolls 1225-1232*, p. 498), was quashed by the pope ten months later. (*Reg. Greg. IX*, no. 1432.)
7 MATT. PARIS, III, 244.

announced to the English episcopate his confirmation of the election.[8] Archbishop Rich's successor, Boniface of Savoy, was chosen at the king's wish, the monks knowing that the pope and the king would help each other and that any other election would certainly be set aside.[9] Boniface governed his province until nearly the end of Henry's reign; the election of his successor took place in the days of Edward I.

The archbishopric of York was held for over two-thirds of Henry's reign by Walter Gray who had been translated from Worcester in 1215.[10] Less than a month after his death in 1255 the chapter of York received license to elect.[11] Almost a year passed before the pope confirmed their choice of Sewall de Bovill; but that can be accounted for by "the defect of his birth" which necessitated a special dispensation.[12] Neither in the case of de Bovill nor in that of his immediate successor, Godfrey de Ludham, is there evidence of extraneous pressure being brought to bear on the election.[13] When for a third time the northern province fell vacant the pope designated Boniface, minister general of the Friars Minor,[14] who apparently declined the honor. Walter Giffard was then translated from Bath and Wells by papal provision.[15] King Henry had been insistent in 1264 that Walter Giffard "whom the king holds in special commendation" be confirmed in his election to Bath and Wells;[16] it seems likely enough that his preferment by the pope in 1266 was made to please the king.

Of the three archbishops of Canterbury in the reign of Edward I, the first, Robert Kilwardby, was appointed by the pope after the convent's first choice, one of their own number, resigned his claims because of the king's opposition.[17] After Kil-

8 On 22 December, 1232; *Reg. Greg. IX*, no. 1651.

9 MATT. PARIS, IV, 404; see also GASQUET, *Henry the Third and the Church*, p. 191 (London, 1905).

10 POTTHAST, *Regesta*, no. 4995.

11 *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1247-1258*, p. 441.

12 *Reg. Alex. IV*, no. 1218.

13 There is the possibility that the delay in the confirmation of Sewall de Bovill's election was due to the king.

14 *Reg. Clement IV*, No. 171.

15 *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1266-1272*, p. 19.

16 *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1258-1266*, pp. 319, 328, 343.

17 BLISS, *Calendar of Papal Registers*, I, 442; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1272-1281*, p. 2.

wardby's translation to Porto in 1278 the monks chose Robert Burnell, bishop of Bath and Wells,[18] and to this election Edward assented, urging the bishops to consent without delay to the postulation, "as the king has the matter much at heart."[19] The pope refused to confirm the election, and after some delay he promoted John Peckham to the archbishopric.[20] In the election of Peckham's successor, Robert Winchelsey, there was no apparent papal interference nor is there evidence of royal influence.

There were five archbishops of York in Edward's reign, three of whom were papal appointees; yet each of the three had been duly elected by the chapter. William Wickwane was appointed after his election had been quashed because of informality.[21] Henry Newark's election was decreed to be null because he did not go to Rome for its confirmation; but because the election was unanimous, and to gratify the king, the pope promoted him.[22] Thomas Corbridge resigned his election into the pope's hands and received the appointment from him.[23] It is not without significance that these formal assertions of papal prerogative occurred in the pontificate of Boniface VIII.

It is clear that in the reigns of both Henry III and Edward I the canonical rights of the electors of the two archiepiscopal sees were infringed upon and at times brushed aside. Elections quashed because they were not pleasing to the pope, elections quashed because they were not pleasing to the king, appointments made by papal authority, and the choice of men whom the king desired to honour alike seem inconsistent with the right of a chapter to free election.

Diocesan elections show evidence of the exercise of papal influence or authority relatively less frequently than do elections to archbishoprics. While archiepiscopal elections were presented to the apostolic see for confirmation, in general the metropolitans

18 *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1272-1281*, p. 269.
19 *Ibid*, pp. 274, 276.
20 BLISS, *Cal Papal Reg.*, I, 456. The date, 5 kal. Feb., 1278, should read 1278/79.
21 *Ibid.*, p. 185.
22 *Ibid.*, p. 574.
23 *Reg. Boniface VIII*, no. 3475. In the mandate for the restoration of the temporalities of the see, he is said to have been preferred to the primacy by the pope. *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1292-1301*, p. 511.

themselves confirmed or withheld confirmation from elections to dioceses within their provinces. The opportunity to set aside one such election and to designate who should be chosen in the next was consequently but little likely to present itself to the Roman court. Yet there were instances in which the final decision in the choice of a diocesan rested with the pope.

The prior and convent of Bath in 1243 chose Roger, precentor of Salisbury, for the see of Bath and Wells; whereat the dean and chapter of Wells appealed to the holy see on the ground that they had been deprived of any share in the election.[24] The pope confirmed the choice of Roger[25]—the more readily, says Matthew Paris, because the preferment left vacant a prebend at Salisbury.[26] The royal assent was given, but grudgingly and "saving the rights of the king and the church of Wells."[27] In the same year there was a disputed election to the diocese of Coventry and Litchfield; and when the rival claimants failed to reach an agreement the see was filled by papal provision.[28] The provisor, Roger Weseham, was not one of the claimants. The pope evidently experienced some difficulty in gaining the royal assent to this appointment.[29] When Henry restored the temporalities of the see he announced to the bishop's tenants that the preferment was to the prejudice of the king's dignity.[30] A similar case occurred in the reign of Edward I. Two claimants to the bishopric of Ely resigned their claims into the pope's hands, and, although one of the two had already received the royal assent to his election, [31] the pope settled the matter by translating to Ely the bishop of Norwich.[32]

In each of these instances the decision lay with the pope through a disputed election carried to Rome for settlement instead of being left in the hands of the archbishop of the province. This suggests that an examination into disputed episcopal elec-

24 *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1232-1247*, p. 369.
25 *Reg. Innoc. IV*, no. 569; cf. nos. 486, 499.
26 ". . . quod praebenda sua Saresbiriensis nepoti domini Papae exstitit conferenda." MATT PARIS, IV, 287.
27 *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1232-1247*, p. 425.
28 *Reg. Innoc. IV*, nos. 311, 1120, 1369.
29 *Ibid.*, no. 1372.
30 *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1232-1247*, p. 476.
31 *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1292-1301*, p. 357.
32 BLISS, *Cal. Papal Reg.*, I, 582.

tions throughout the entire western church and over a considerable period of time might furnish much information relating to the development of the papal power at the expense of the archbishops. In each case, further, the decision ran counter to the wishes of the king and was thus, in some measure, a papal victory over the monarchy. And in none of the cases was regard paid to the expressed will of the cathedral chapter.

Other instances are not wanting of bishops being preferred to their dioceses by the papacy, sometimes without the formality of a capitular election. Nicholas of Ely, bishop of Worcester, was in 1268 provided by the pope to Winchester.[33] On his death twelve years later the chapter chose Robert Burnell, bishop of Bath and Wells, but the pope set aside the election, inhibited the chapter from holding another without express papal mandate, and reserved to himself the disposition of the vacant see.[34] Disregarding the inhibition, the chapter elected Richard de la More; the election received the royal assent.[35] The bishop elect received letters of protection for two years on going to the Roman court[36] and the archbishop of Canterbury appointed a commission to examine the election.[37] A year and a half later Richard de la More resigned his rights and the pope appointed John of Pontoise to be bishop of Winchester.[38] In 1299 John Salmon, prior of Ely, was preferred by the pope to the diocese of Norwich, left vacant by the translation of Ralph Walpole to Ely.[39] In 1302 Walter Gainsborough, a Franciscan, was chosen by the pope as bishop of Worcester.[40] The archbishop had refused to confirm the chapter's election of John de St. Germane; he was upheld when appeal was made to Rome; but the pope filled the vacancy instead of permitting another election.[41]

33 *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1272-1281*, p. 222.
34 BLISS, *Cal. Papal Reg.*, I, 462.
35 *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1272-1281*, p. 404.
36 *Ibid.*, p. 423.
37 *Registrum Johannis Peckham*, p. 38. (Canterbury and York Soc.)
38 BLISS, *Cal. Papal Reg.*, I, 466.
39 *Ibid.*, I, 583; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1292-1301*, p. 442.
40 *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1301-1307*, p. 110.
41 *Reg. Boniface VIII*, no. 4793.

Between 1216 and 1307 there were one hundred forty-one effective elections to English bishoprics.[42] From official statements—entries in the patent rolls and on papal registers—it appears that about seventeen per cent. of these elections were decided by the holy see: in twenty-four instances of the one hundred forty-one it was the pope rather than the cathedral chapter or convent who chose the bishop. This does not include cases where the Roman influence is not self-evident in the records but where there is more than a possibility that the chapter elected a clerk known before-hand to be approved by the pope.

The extent to which the royal power was brought into play in connection with episcopal elections is more difficult to determine. The requirement of the *congé d'élire* and of the royal assent to an election gave the crown opportunity to bring pressure to bear on the chapters; the administration by royal agents of the temporalities *sede vacante* strengthened the king's hand; direct methods of control were not wanting. Henry included the bestowal of archbishoprics, bishoprics, and abacies among "the temporal things which are the prerogatives of my crown;"[43] and he and his son after him endeavoured on occasion, sometimes with success and sometimes without, to secure the election of their candidates.

When in 1226 the prior and convent of Durham received license to elect, the king sent them three agents to make clear his wishes concerning the election.[44] To the prior and convent of Bath the king made known in 1242 the name of the man whom he desired elected.[45] A dozen years later—on 2 November, 1254—Henry promised a clerk a benefice contingent on the election of William de Kilkenny (who then held it) to the see of Ely.[46]

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42 STUBBS, *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum* lists one hundred and thirty-five consecrations to English sees during this period. To this number must be added, in order to obtain the number of effective elections, the six instances of the translation of a bishop from one diocese to another: Richard le Poor was translated from Chichester to Salisbury in 1217 and to Durham in 1228; William Raleigh from Norwich to Winchester in 1244; Walter Giffard from Bath to York in 1266; Nicholas of Ely from Worcester to Winchester in 1268; Ralph Walpole from Norwich to Ely in 1299.

43 *Annales Monastici*, I, 207-217; quoted in Gasquet, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

44 *Pat. Rolls 1225-1232*, p. 82.

45 *Roles Gascons*, 1, no. 1593. (*Documents Inédits, Paris*, 1885.)

46 *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1247-1258*, p. 379. William was elected: *Ibid.*, p. 382.

After an election was held its result, if unsatisfactory to the king, might be and sometimes was set aside. Peter d'Aigueblanche became bishop of Hereford in 1240; a canon of Lichfield had been the chapter's choice, but he was opposed by the king and *videns dies malos imminere cessit.*[47] After the death of archbishop Boniface of Savoy in 1270 the convent elected their prior; on the king's opposition to the election he resigned his claims[48] and Robert Kilwardby was appointed to the primacy by the pope.

An illustration of the sort of pressure that might be employed when affairs were not running smoothly is found in connection with the election of Walter Giffard, later archbishop of York, to the diocese of Bath and Wells in 1264. The archbishop of Canterbury was then in France, and the king wrote asking him to confirm the election and to arrange for Giffard's consecration without the bishop-elect going to France.[49] This the archbishop would not do. The king, indignant at his refusal, summoned him to return to England or else to delegate his powers: otherwise his emoluments would not be allowed to leave the realm.[50] Occasionally, in such a circumstance, the king turned for assistance to the pope. Ralph Neville, bishop of Chichester, was elected to Winchester contrary to the king's will; Henry had the election quashed at Rome, *effusa non modica pecunia.*[51]

The king's endeavours to control episcopal elections were not, when made, invariably successful; instances are not lacking in which a cathedral chapter declined to yield to the royal will. Henry proposed the name of his chaplain Luke for the see of Durham, void through the death of Richard Marsh in 1226.[52] The monks refused to elect the chaplain and chose instead William de Stechill, archdeacon of Worcester; the king withheld his assent and the pope quashed the election.[53] The see was then filled, not by Luke, but by the translation of Richard le Poor

47 MATT. PARIS, IV, 491; *Annales Monastici*, II, 116.
48 BLISS, *Cal. Papal Reg., I*, 442.
49 *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1258-1266*, p. 319.
50 *Ibid.*, p. 328.
51 MATT. PARIS, IV, 491; *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1232-1247*, p. 231.
52 MATT. PARIS, III, 113.
53 *Reg. Greg. IX*, no. 115.

from Salisbury.[54] Peter d'Aigueblanche, bishop of Hereford, was Henry's candidate for the bishopric of London in 1241,[55] but the chapter elected Fulk Bassett, and to their choice the king assented.[56] The election of a successor to Peter des Roches in the see of Winchester ushered in a severe struggle between the king and the convent that lasted for six years. Rejecting the king's nomination, the monks chose Ralph Neville, bishop of Chichester,[57] an election which the pope quashed at the king's behest. The choice of the convent then fell on William de Raleigh, bishop of Norwich. Henry's candidate, William of Valence, had died; yet he refused to agree to the election and, in a letter to the pope, he advanced the claims of Boniface of Savoy.[58] Though the pope confirmed Raleigh's election in September, 1243,[59] Henry, ten weeks later refused to grant a *congé d'élire* to the chapter at Norwich, on the ground that the see was not void.[60] The contest ended in the king's defeat, for William de Raleigh was admitted to his new bishopric in the summer of 1244.[61] The convent suffered many vexations and indignities at the king's hand, their endurance of which called forth Matthew Paris's ejaculation: *O monachorum superbia, cucullatorium improbitas obstinata!*[62]

An important and not infrequent practice was the elevation of royal ministers to the episcopate. If one cannot say that they were chosen at the king's express command, at any rate they received the mitre because their services to the crown had made them *personæ gratæ* to the king. It is of such a bishop that Matthew Paris remarks that it was taken for a good omen that his consecration sermon was on the text: "There is joy in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repenteth.[63] A typical example in the days of Henry

54 *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1225-1232*, p. 195.
55 MATT. PARIS, IV, 71.
56 *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1232-1247*, p. 270.
57 *Ibid.*, p. 231; MATT. PARIS, III, 491-495.
58 *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1232-1247*, p. 400.
59 *Reg. Innoc. IV*, no. 113.
60 *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1232-1247*, p. 409.
61 *Ibid.*, pp. 432, 435.
62 MATT. PARIS, IV, 108. For their further troubles, see *Ibid.*, p. 159.
63 MATT. PARIS, III, 618. "Omnes bonam spem de ipso conceperunt, ut quasi alter Matheus qui de theloneo ad apostolatum et evangelii auctoritatem sic de curiali occupatione ad magnae sanctitatis culmen subvolaret."

III is the chancellor Henry Wengham, who, while not yet in priest's orders received numerous dignities and benefices which he was subsequently licensed to retain for five years after his consecration as bishop of London in 1259.[64] A parallel instance from the next reign is that of the treasurer William of March, elected bishop of Bath and Wells in 1293.[65] Two years earlier, while only a subdeacon, he received at the king's request papal dispensation to hold prebends in Salisbury, Chichester, and Wells.[66] When eminent pluralists such as these were raised to the episcopate, men whose work was entirely concerned with the king's business and who were not priests, the decisive factor in the election was unquestionably the influence of the court. Throughout the thirteenth century that influence was exerted sufficiently often to restrict seriously the freedom of election.[67]

Whether the cogent arguments that can be advanced in defence of the use of royal authority in connection with episcopal elections outweigh those that can be mustered in opposition thereto, and whether the acts of the apostolic see in such matters were motivated by a desire to protect the liberties of the church are questions that lie outside the scope of this study.

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64 BLISS, *Cal. Papal Reg.*, I, 300, 364, 366.
65 *Cal. Pat. Rolls 1292-1301*, p. 2.
66 BLISS, *Cal. Papal Reg.*, I, 530.
67 Among the ministers, king's clerks, and members of the royal household who became bishops were Richard Marsh (Durham), Eustace Fauconbridge (London), Ralph Neville (Chichester), Thomas Blunville (Norwich), Hugh Pateshull (Lichfield), Wm. de Burgh (Llandaff), Wm. of York (Salisbury), Wm. Kilkenny (Ely), Robert de Chaury (Carlisle), Walter Giffard (Bath), Godfrey Giffard (Worchester), Robert Burnell (Bath), Walter Langton (Lichfield).

FATHER ROBERT PARSONS, S.J.

(Concluded)

II

THE NEXT SUCCESSION[1]

"Man by nature is sociable and inclined to live in company."[2] With these words Fr. Parsons summons Aristotle, Plato and Cicero as his first witnesses to prove that succession is alterable and that the fittest may be chosen from the lineal claimants. The fact that he believed the Infanta of Spain ought to be considered as the fittest, explains all the theorizing that follows upon this promise.

The naturalness of society is based upon the very character of man, as is shown by several proofs drawn from his physical and social natures. "Government and jurisdiction of magistrates is also of nature."[3] This he maintains on grounds of necessity, *ipsius vocem naturæ* (Cicero), the civil law, and the Scriptures—but he carefully restricts the Biblical authority of *St. Paul to the Romans* (Ch. 13) to pure authority, lawfully applied.[4]

The form of government, however, is not determined by nature, else it would be uniform, "seeing God and nature are one to al as often hath been said."[5] "So as of al this, ther can

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1 This book (1594) was aimed not against Elizabeth so much as against James Stuart, and to establish the lineal claim of the Infanta fortified by a theory of the popular basis of the Crown. Its sources are in Bellarmine and the *Vindiciae* particularly. (Yet *A Treatise Tending to Mitigation* . . . attacks *Vindiciae* furiously, pp. 38-39.) The authorship has been disputed. Pollen renewed the question (*The Month*, May, 1903) which Tierney seemed to have settled, (*Dodd's Church History*, III; 31 ff.) but in my estimation Fr. Pollen did not prove his point when he attributed the book to Verstegan. At any rate, he admits that the responsibility for the publication was Parsons', who with Allen had written a brief paper in 1587 upon the Infanta's claim, stressing the need of force to secure the rights outlined. (See TAUNTON, *op. cit.*, 123-124.) Its influence was very great, but apparently English Catholics feared that the work would do them more injury than good. It certainly constituted an obstacle to any reconciliation with James. For the later history and influence of the book, see pp. 1-2 of ROBERT BRADY'S *A True and Exact History of the Succession*, 1581. For excellent recent commentaries, see MCILWAIN (*op. cit.*) pp. xcii, FIGGIS, *Divine Right of Kings*, 102, and LASKI, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-53.

2 *Conference*, I, 4.

3 *Conference*, I, 4-7.

4 *Ibid.*, I, 7. Cp. also FIGGIS, *From Gerson to Grotius*, 154-5.

5 *Ibid.*, I, 9.

be no doubt that the commonwealth hath power to chuse their owne fassion of government, as also change the same uppon resonable causes, as we see they have done in al tymes and countries, and God no doubt approveth what the realme determineth in this point, for otherwise nothing could be certaine for that of thes changes doth depend al that hath succeeded sythens."[6]

"In an age in which *majestas* could be defined as *summa in cives ac subditos legibusque soluta potestas*, the question could not remain long in abeyance whether the magistrate wielding such unbridled power derived it from God directly, or from the other members of the commonwealth, or from God *through* the people; and if from the people whether the *Lex Regia*, by which it was conferred could or could not be revoked by those who had made that law.[7] The rest of the first part of the *Conference* constitutes the reply in which Parsons answers that royal power is derived through the people and is revocable by the corporate whole whenever its welfare is infringed. To him, as to so many thinkers, the original sovereignty of the people, whose nature has made necessary the commonwealth, cannot be surrendered irrevocably. The end of man is the spiritual life, and by virtue of that fact the people must limit their grant of authority to actions compatible with that of supernatural destiny.

"Of al other forms of gouerment, the monarchy of a king in it selfe, appeareth to be the most excellent and perfect."[8] He cites the third book of Aristotle's *Politics* ("with this only condicion that he gouerne by lawes") and also Seneca and Plutarche—"But for that a king or Prince is a man as others be, and therby not only subiect to errors in iudgment, but also, to passionat affections in his wil; for this cause as it gave him this great power ouer them, so it should assign him also the best helpers that might be, for directing and rectifying both his wil and iudgment, and make him therin as like in gouern-

6 *Ibid.*, I, 9-12.
7 McIlwain, *op. cit.*, xvi.
8 *Conference*, I, 15-22.

ment to God, whom he representeth, as mans frailty can reach unto."[9]

He finds the necessary restraints on, or helps to, the king to be "Law—the discipline of a weale publique,"[10] and "the councills of Princes, a great healp." He quotes contemporary European parliaments and privy councils to show this restraint, "to temper somewhat the absolute forme of a monarchy whose danger is by reason of his sole authority, to fal into tyranny, as Aristotle wisely noteth" (Bk. IV., ch. 10 *Politics*). Parsons analyzes the English monarchy as a mixed government from the functions of the Aristocracy and the representatives of the commonalty in Parliament. "Al which limitations of the Princes absolute authority—do come from the Commonwealth, as having authority above the Prince for their restraint to the good of the realme."

Parsons distinguishes the king from the tyrant, quoting Aristotle and Plato that the "king ruleth according to equity, oth, conscience, justice, and law prescribed unto him; and the other is enemy to all these conditions."[11] Also he cites Bartolus and Cicero and the well used *Digna vox*.[12] This is not so extraordinary to us, but Father Parsons was writing in an age which had seen Sir Thomas More and Thomas Cranmer each go his way to death for non-conformity in religion, when, according to the "King's Doctrine," the king was said to be supreme judge and as Cranmer had once told the western rebels in 1549, "resistance to him was disobedience to God."[13] Half a century after the *Conference*, this absolutest theory had so far developed that in the minds of many "the *summa potestas* is matter of State in the King himself and not in Parliament."[14] Under James I it was declared "That which concerns the mystery of the King's power is not lawful to be disputed; for that is to wade into the weakness of princes, and to take away the mystical reverence

9 *Ibid.*, I, 21.
10 *Conference*, 23, where he approaches a concept of law as discipline to keep the parts in order.
11 *Ibid.*, I, 24.
12 *Ibid.*, I, 78.
13 POLLARD, op. cit., 162-163.
14 W. H. MOORE, *Art of State in English Law*. 820.

that belong to them that sit on the throne of God."[15] These assertions were not consented to by the realme, however, and in 1689, the veto power of the commonwealth prevented the expansion or the continuance of this development.[16] If we fully realize the direction in which monarchical theory had begun to flow, we can appreciate the salutary effect of such theories of limited monarchy based on the popular assent, such as those which Father Parsons and his colleagues maintained.

King James forbade any examination into matters pertaining to the King's power, but a subject of his, Sir John Heyward, wrote in favor of the proposition "that the eldest son of a king or other governor, although he be borne either furious, or a foole, or otherwise defective, cannot therefore be excluded from his succession. These affirm, that any end of institution of commonwealths is, if not fully, yet better satisfied, by appointing a protector of the State."[17]

Heywood wrote his book to contradict the allegation[18] of Father Parsons that proximity of blood is manifestly not the only essential of succession, but that the succession rests upon some higher authority. The variety of practices shows it is not determined by natural or divine law, "whereby we are forced to conclude that every particular country and commonwealth hath prescribed the conditions to itself and hath authority to do the same.[19] "The particular constitution of every commonwealth within it selfe . . ."[20] determines the succession. In view of Henry VIIIth manipulation of his succession, the doubtful legitimacy of Queen Elizabeth,[21] and the Statue of Association which excluded any lineal claimants who plotted against the Queen, it was inadvisable[22] to urge legitimism during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The first act of James I gave the lie to his predecessor's claims so as to establish his own on a firm lineal legitimism. Fr. Parsons had plenty of evidence to prove that succes-

15 MOORE, *op. cit.*, 18.
16 *Ibid.*, 21.
17 HAYWARD, *Answer to Doleman*, Ch. I, A. 3.
18 *Conference*, I, 1-3.
19 *Ibid.*, I, 3.
20 *Ibid.*, I, 14.
21 *Answer to Barlow*, 427.
22 MCILWAIN, *Lectures in Gov.* 6.

sion was not by blood alone. The Salic Law itself denied strict lineal succession.[23] Parsons asserts, furthermore, "that the best of al their titles after the deposition of king Richard the second, depended of their authority of the commonwealth."[24] When a king is once in possession, Fr. Parsons declares, he must be acknowledged and obeyed—"and that without examination of his titles, or interest, for that . . . God disposeth of kingdomes and worketh his will in Princes affayres as he pleaseth."[25] Father Parsons does not count as a tyrant one whose accession to power has been violent, but rather one whose rule has been unjust. The fact that lawful princes have been often deposed and that God has prospered the action goes all the more to prove that the commonwealth has "power and authority to alter the succession of such as do but yet pretend to that dignity, if ther be dew reason and cause for the same."[26]

"Admission of more importance than succession" is the next thesis. "The heyre apparent by propinquity of blood is only espoused or betrothed to the commonwealth, for the time to come, and is married afterwards by present mutual consents of both parties."[27] Appointment by counsel of the nobility and clergy was provided in the old Council of Toledo, he says. In the preferment and choice of Hugh Capet over Charles of Lorraine, the legitimate heir, an ambassador was sent to the latter to declare: "but yet the very same lawes which do give unto you this right of succession, do judge you also unworthy of the same. . . ."[28] "Succession of princes by birth is better than meere election,"[29] but if incapacity, unfitness, or perniciousness is apparent, the remedy is "either to helpe and assist him by lawes, directions and wise councills, if he be capable therunto or els to remove him and take in another of the same blood royal (though further of in degree or propinquity) in his place."[30] And so while "propinquity of bloode is a great preheminence towards

23 *Conference*, I, 30-32.
24 *Conference*, I, 125.
25 *Conference*, I, 34.
26 *Ibid.*, I, 132.
27 *Ibid.*, I, 140.
28 *Ibid.*, I, 174.
29 *Ibid.*, I, 226, 229.
30 *Conference*, I, 230.

the attaining of any crowne,[31] yet the commonwealth if not bound or restricted thereby;" but rather is under obligation "to consider wel and maturely the person that is to enter, whether he be like to perform his duty and charge committed unto him, or no," . . . and to see "that he be not prejudicial thereby to the whole body, which is ever to be respected more than any one else."

"The greater Jesuits are on their way to the conception of the *personality* of corporate bodies, if they have not reached it. The nature of their own society would certainly teach them this.[32] Parsons accused Thomas Morton of misrepresenting Doleman in alleging that he granted "Democraticall power to the people over Princes established "on the grounds that Doleman had spoken on the power of a *Commonwealth* to choose and limit its form of government.[33] Laski points out that the *Vindiciae* attributes originating and fundamental authority from the people, but practically presumes to find it in the magistracy.[34] The basic idea in Parson's *Conference* is the power of the community virtually as a corporate body over its established regent. "The whole body though it be gouerned by the Prince as by the head, yet is not inferior but superior to the Prince, nether so giveth the Commonwealth her authority to any Prince, that she depriveth herself utterly of the same, when neede shall require to use it for her defence, for which she gave it."[35]

To return momentarily to the theory of divine right. "The supporters of Divine Right were thinking first and foremost of the secular independence of foreign or internal ecclesiastical power, only secondarily of the rights of the King or the State against the individual."[36] The purpose was in so far very positive. It tended to concentrate both spiritual and temporal power in the one office and institution, however, as in England. From another aspect it was negative; it was in self-protection an imitation of the papal absolutism which was proclaimed far

31 *Conference*, I, 196.
32 FIGGIS, *From Gerson to Grotius*, 155.
33 *Treatise Tending to Mitigation*, 66-67.
34 *Vindiciae*, 48.
35 *Conference*, I, 72.
36 FIGGIS, *op. cit.*, 63.

and wide by the failure of the Conciliarists at Constance.[37] The Papacy is declared infallible and absolute by virtue of the peculiar quality of its special creation. Civil government, however, is rather a human instrument built out of and according to the social nature of man.[38] The divine right theory in England is an assumption to the state of all the peculiar features of the Papacy, save that of universality, and the Imperial Commonwealth in earlier days might have tended towards the inclusion even of that feature. But Civil Government does not spring from the concise declaration of God.

Father Parsons denies the assertions of "Belloy" or "Bellay"[39] in *Apologia Catholica* and *apologia pro rege* mainly declaring the divine institution of royal families, the immediate and unbroken succession of the heir without any popular consent, absolute continuity and rights of the heir apparent, succession regardless of incapacity and submission to no law or restraint under God—"but that himselfe only is the quick and living law, and that no limitation can be given unto him by any power under heaven, except it be by his own wil. . . ."[40] At this place Parsons declares, "By which wordes it semeth that he painteth out a perfect paterne of a tyrannical government, which how it may further the King of Navarre's pretence in the case he standeth in presently in France, I do not see."[41] Bellay's statements, however, show the purpose of the divine right theorists—a king bound by no obligation to people or assembly or spiritual power on earth.

Father Parsons is naturally far from consenting to such a scheme. "And finally (which is the chiefest reason of al, and the very ground and foundation in deede of al kings authority among Christians) the power and authority which the Prince hath from the commonwealth is in very truth, not absolute, but *potestas vicaria et deligata* . . . or power by commission

37 *Ibid.*, 45, 21, 30-54.

38 Aristotle, Aquinas and their followers take this view. The Divine Right theorists consider monarchy as an institution divinely established with an indefeasible hereditary right in the person. *Ibid.*, 5.

39 Probably "Du Bellay," who is cited for his *Apologia Catholica* by LASKI in his edition of the *Vindiciae*, 31.

40 *Conference*, I, 123-125. Cp. FIGGIS, *Divine Right of Kings* Intro, 5-6.

41 *Ibid*, 1-125.

from the commonwealth which is given with suche restrictions, cautels and conditions, yea, with suche playne exceptions, promises, and other of both parties . . . as if the same be not kept but wilfully broken, in ether part, then is the other not bounde to observe his promise nether, though never so solemnly made or sworne."[42] In the coronation oath he finds it "as certaine and firm . . . as any contract or marriage in the world can be, when it is solemnized by wordes *de præsenti*."[43] He says, furthermore, "by this oth, both the Prince and subject do come to know and agree uppon their duetyes and obligations the one towards the other, as also both of them towards God and their native country."[44]

The oath was viewed as a contract, and as with a contract, nonfulfillment by one party absolves the other from his obligations. An oath does not bind "when the fulfilling thereof, should contayne any notable hurt or inconvenience against religion, piety, justice, honesty, or the weal publique, or against the party himself to whom it was made."[45]

There are two occasions on which the subject need not fulfill his oath of obedience towards a prince. The first is, "when the Prince observeth not at al his promises and oth made to the commonwealth, at his admission or coronation." The other is "when it should turne to the notable damage of the weale publique (for whose only good the Prince's office was ordained as often before hath bin said and proved) if the subject should keepe and performe his oth and promise made unto his Prince."[46]

And what can be done with the Prince who breaks faith? If he were established by the consent of the Commonwealth, he can be taken down by the same power—"as al the duty, reverence, love, and obedience before named is to be yealded unto every

42 *Conference*, I, 73.
43 *Ibid.*, 119-120.
HEYWARD'S answer to Doleman's 5th Chapter is keen: "Againe when the promise is not annexed to the authoritie, but voluntarily and freely made by the Prince, his estate is not thereby made conditional." Parsons, however, insisted that the promise is not only anterior to, but the condition of, the princes' acquisition of authority. Eg. *Congerence* I, 92-93.
44 *Conference*, I, 81. This approaches the concept of two sets of obligations as in *Vindiciae*.
45 *Conference*, I, 74.
46 *Conference*, 76.

Prince which the commonwealth has once established, so yet retayneth the commonwealth her authority not only to restrayne the same Prince, if he be exorbitant, but also to chasten and remove him, uppon due and weighty considerations . . . "as has many times been successfully done."[47] "And therfore as the whole body is of more authority than the only head, and may cure the head if it be out of tune, so may the weal publike cure or cutt of their heads, if they infest the rest, seing that a body civil may have divers heades, by succession, and is not bound over to one, as a body natural is."[48]

The Prince who has been excommunicated is a malignant sore to a Christian Commonwealth, and is a danger to the spiritual health of the people. "All Catholike Devines doe agree that our Savior in this case hath not left his Church unprovided of some remedy."[49] In *Responsio ad Edictum Elizabethæ* "he declares the doctrine of the papal deposing power to be an article of faith."[50]

A deposing power is found in the pope and in the people (by the non-fulfillment of contract). What is the nature of the defects in a king which would merit it? Again, as at the beginning, we must consider the commonwealth; but this time as to its purpose. "The highest and chiefest end of every commonwealth is cultus Dei, the service of God and religion, and consequently that the principall care and charge of a prince and magistrate even by nature itselfe is to look thereunto."[51] It is because of this great duty,[52] particularly, that the danger comes from the accession to the crowne of a man who has not the right view of religion, "as is evident that he wil do what lyeth in him to the prejudice of them both—(God's glory and the publique wealth)."[53] The duty of the king in religious matters was held by James I specifically,[54] and Barlow viewed the queen as an

47 *Ibid.*, I, 36-37.
48 *Ibid.*, I, 38.
49 *Answer to Barlow*, 102.
50 T. G. Law in *D. N. B.* sub "Persons." *Answer to Barlow*, 390.
51 *Conference*, I, 204.
52 *Ibid.*, I, 208-209.
53 *Ibid.*, I, 200.
54 McIlwain, *op. cit.*

absolute monarch in religion as well as in civil government.[55] Both Presbyterians and Jesuits were seeking ecclesiastical freedom from the oppression of the religious tyrant,[56] yet the theocracy at Geneva had been far more thoroughly ecclesiastical even than Parsons' suggestions for the government working in conjunction with the restored Church in England. Both became perhaps unwilling exponents of liberty because they had to face hostile governments whose religious decrees involved heresy and sin. Both demanded liberty for the individual when they found that the positive commands of their religions could not otherwise be obeyed in the face of a secular despotism which demanded spiritual obedience.

This could not have been the case if the State had concerned itself with merely secular matters. As Doleman indicated, it was to be supposed "that the first chiefest, and highest ende that God and nature appointed to every commonwealth was not so much the temporal felicity of the body as the supernatural and everlasting of the soule."[57] This positive obligation upon the state of spiritual supervision when added to the medieval concept of uniformity made the old machinery unworkable. The individual's soul depended upon strict obedience to God—and he had been accustomed to believe "as an indubitable truth that the sole source of all authority either in the spiritual or in the natural order is Almighty God."[58] The subject confronted a terrifying dilemma. Passive obedience, as I have shown, broke down before the facts. In consequence, the subject tried to liberate himself first by converting or deposing the monarch, whose want of the true religion constituted "high treason against his lord and master in whose place he is."[59] When that failed because of the temporal power of the tyrant, the subject had to be content with a plea for toleration—and it remained

55 *Answer to Barlow*, 355-356. Also cp. Camden's *Annals* 1580, p. 19. "For the timely suppressing of these (books from Holland), by Law, the Queene, considering that Religion ought to be the chiefest care of Princes, commanded . . . that the Civill magistrate be assistant to the Ecclesticall, and that said books be burnt."

56 McIlwain, *op. cit.* xxii.

57 *Conference*, 204.

58 *Letters of Allen*—Introd. xvii.

59 *Conference*, I, 212.

only a plan for a long time. But the great change had occurred in the public mind. The heretical monarch was no longer hallowed by the grace of God. The state was perhaps exalted by many—but its sanctity was lost. Individual liberty as we know it arose gradually only after the state had dispossessed itself by heresy of the religious veneration in which it had been esteemed.

But we must return to the argument of the *Conference*. The king is to act as the temporal arm of the Christian Commonwealth. Since that is his function, it becomes highly necessary that his religion be that of the body politic. The functions of the king fell into three divisions: religion, justice, and manhood and chivalry, for the defence of the realm.[60] In past years when prince and people were of one religion, Parsons continues, depositions were made almost entirely for his failure in the second and third accounts.[61] The first, however, is the most important, since religion is the highest function of the commonwealth.[62] Just as men have physical bodies whose end is the perfection of the spiritual element, the soul; so the spiritual points far outweigh the temporal in importance, in the body politic. Even as the infidel husband, the prince who would lead his people astray in spiritual matters should be divorced. It is all the more imperative that the ties of only the betrothed or the pretender should be severed if he is evil in his religion.[63] Conscience, reasons of state, and worldly policy all forbid the choice of a heretic prince. The king, once established, will act according to his own religion[64] and consequently come to break with other party, "though before he loved him never so wel." (which yet perhaps is very hard if not impossible for two of different religions to love sincerely.)"[65]

If the ruler is a heretic or infidel and should be deposed for religious reasons, and yet if respect for law and order is the

60 *Ibid.*, I, 202-203. Cp. Girard's description of coronation of king of France —3 apparels.
61 *Conference*, I, 203.
62 *Ibid.*, I, 204.
63 *Conference*, I, 210-213.
64 So had Mary and so had Elizabeth, but not so with Henry of Navarre, whose extraordinary act had probably not occurred or seemed possible, at the time of writing,—published about 1594. Henry attended Mass in 1593, 5 years before the Edict of Nantes.
65 *Conference*, I, 217.

outstanding characteristic of the age, where may the authority be found to determine and declare that the oath of allegiance has been sundered by the sin of the Prince? The popular right or even duty of resistance through the magistracy was declared by the *Vindiciae*. But Catholics had an authority of an even higher sort to rely upon. In England the king had long possessed the dispensing power. Was not a similar power to be found in some one for religious matters? As Parsons phrased it, "Whether God's Providence might seeme defectuous, if no authority had been left in the Christian Church to restraine and punish evill kings."[66] The *societas perfecta* answered this convincingly. The Pope logically possesses this power as the "supreme Gouvernour and Pastour of his church and commonwealth."[67] Papal supremacy is an article of faith and Catholicism,[68] he said, but over infidels "until they be in Christs foulde, he is not their sheape hearde." Tyrannicide[69] as a doctrine is denied with great insistence, although Sixtus V did marvel at God's providence in chastising the wicked deeds of that king by his assassination. The history of Papal efforts at reconciliation before issuing the bull, *Regnans in Excelsis*, proves that the Papacy strived for conciliation as long as it was compatible with the spiritual health of the flock.

In 1594 the question did not involve the deposition of Princes, for *rebus sic stantibus* still prevailed. The question then concerned succession to the Crown, which as has been shown above depended upon admission rather than lineage, according to the Civil Lawyer in the first part of the *Conference*. The old age of Elizabeth and the doubtfulness of the succession made the next succession of prime importance. If a Catholic sovereign could reach the throne, the Faith would be restored to the joy and comfort of the great number of Catholics still living in England. *Cuius regio eius religio* could restore what it had

66 *Answer to Barlow*, 100.

67 *Treatise Tending to Mitigation*, Preface, Par. 21.

68 *Answer to Barlow*, 390.

Canonists deem this supremacy directly extends to temporalities, but most Catholic Divines (e.g. Bellarmine) declare it reaches them only indirectly. At any rate, wicked attempts by private men are condemned, for the matter is one of law and order for the public weal.—*Ibid.*, 22-25.

69 *An Answer to T. Bels Late Challenge; Answer to Barlow*, 394; *Ibid.*, 415.

taken away. Consequently Parsons strove with furious zeal to prove the claims of the Infanta of Spain, to secure Papal support, and to provide by Jesuit directorship a body in England anxious to welcome her. It is this object which precipitated the book and which explains also, perhaps, the root of the Jesuit-Secular controversy. It was not opportunism in our sense of the term—"for to these men republicanism—and in fact all secular politics—was only a means to an end. They thought of it merely as an aid *ad finem spiritualem.*"[70]

On 18 March 1587, Parsons had written a paper "Considerations why it is desirable to carry through the enterprise of England before discussing the succession to the Throne of that country, claimed by his Majesty."[71] Similar, but more explicit is the memorandum of Parsons and Allen, of about the same date. This stresses Philip's lineal claim;[72] his ability to secure his right against the usurping Elizabeth by force of arms; Mary Stuart's will and Queen Mary's wish; the duty of avenging Mary Stuart's death and the consequent validating of the title won by conquest; Philip's losses from the English heretics; the Lateran Council decree and the bull of excommunication against Elizabeth, "lastly to complete and confirm the whole affair there will come in addition the voluntary election and acceptation of his Majesty on the part of the commonwealth of Catholics in England" who undoubtedly will be eager to grasp the opportunity. But the hopes staked up on Philip's accession had long passed. Parsons bent all his hopes on the Infanta, whose person would not unite England to the Crown but only to the family of Spain. A judicious marriage, furthermore, would go far to end the lineal disputes.

Those who are likely to be claimants upon the decease of Elizabeth are numerous and varied, he declared, and "their true succession and next proximity by birth is also uncertaine and disputable."[73] Among them ". . . it is evident that this lady the Infanta of Spain, is of the true and ancient blood royal

70 McIlwain, *op. cit.*, xxiv.
71 *Spanish State Papers*, Simancas, Vol. IV, pp. 41-43. Quoted by Taunton, *op. cit.*, 116-120.
72 "Letters of Allen, *op. cit.*, xcix-c.
73 Conference, I, 219.

of England, and that divers ways she may have claim to the same, which being graunted . . . seeing matters are so doubtful at this day about the next lawful succession, and that divers of the pretendores are excluded, some for bastardy, some others for religion, some for unaptness to govern, and some for other causes, and seeing that the commonwealth hath such authority to dispose in this affaire, as before declared, why may there not consideration be had of this noble princesse especially seeing she is unmarried. . . ."[74] Some may object to her religion, but to others, and this number is believed to be great, "her religion will rather be a motive to favour her title. . . ." He estimates the Catholics to be strong in the country, although actual strength is greatly suppressed. The Puritan control over the army and London made them also very important in effecting the next settlement. A battle may be necessary to decide the issue.[75] The Infanta seems most likely of the foreign claimants. There are benefits to be had from being under a great king,[76] and the evils of a foreign government are small when one realized that it is "the effect of governments to be considered and not the governors."[77] The race of the governor is of little concern to the unimpassioned, good, and wise Christian, so long as "he govern well and have the parts before requisite of piety, religion, and justice and manhood, and others the like requisite to his dignity, degree, and charge, by which partes and virtues only his subjects are to receive benefits. . . ."[78]

III

Ad Maiorem Dei Gloriam

It was still possible for James Otis in 1765 to inveigh against parliamentary omnipotence with the declaration that "The supreme power in a state, is *jus dicere* only; *jus dare*, strictly speaking, belongs alone to God. Parliaments are in all cases to *declare* what is for the good of the whole; but it is not the *declaration* of Parliament that makes it so: There must be in

74 *Conference*, II, 157.
75 *Ibid.*, II, 236-250.
76 *Ibid.*, II, 215 ff.
77 *Ibid.*, II, 198.
78 *Ibid.*, II, 233.

every instance, a higher authority, viz. *God.*"[79] The medieval conception had been essentially of this character. The legislature had none of the sovereign nature with which it has since been occasionally clothed; its function was to *declare* what the law of the land upon a given matter really was. It was essentially interpretative rather than legislative. Its importance originally, therefore, was largely for its ability to make financial grants to the king in the name of the nation and to demand of him certain promises and the redress of certain grievances. In the sixteenth century this distinction had begun to break down even in theory, but it still had the weight of tradition to support it. Consequently, Sir Edward Coke had sought in the Fifth Part of his Reports to establish the claim that the ecclesiastical legislation by which the English Church had been separated from the See of Rome, merely declared what had been always the law. In other words, from a legal standpoint, he was making the allegations which Anglicans to-day make—that the English Church had always been distinct from the Church of Rome and by no means subordinate to it. As Parsons summarizes in the Preface to his *Answere to the Fifth Part of Reportes* lately set forth by Syr Edward Cooke Knight, the Kings Attorney General, which was published at St. Omer in 1606:

"Whereas in the Statute made in the first yeare of *Q. Elizabeth* there is given to her all power, and jurisdiction Ecclesiasticall, *as by any Spirituall or Ecclesiasticall Power hath heretofore byn, or may lawfully be executed,* etc. And that she againe by vertue of this Act did assigne, nominate, and authorize by her letters Patents, under the Great Seale of England, certayne persons to execute all manner of jurisdiction whatsoever, *which by any manner Spirituell Ecclesiasticall Power, Authority, or Jurisdiction can, or may lawfully be used, to correct, and amende errors, heresies, schemes, abuses,* etc. The question is whether this authority and Spirituall Jurisdiction were conforme to the ancient lawes of *England* in former times, or not, and whether it were a *Statute not introductory* of a new law, but declaratory only of an old; so as if the said Act had never

79 McIlwain, *American Revolution*, 155.

byn made, yet the Queene had had that authority, and might have given it to others, as she did."

The argument which follows is chiefly historical, and as such concerns us only for the ability which Parsons showed in refuting the statements of the famous and able Sir Edward Coke, whose great regard for the common law has been perpetuated in *Dr. Bonham's Case*. The "Catholiche Deuyne" also shows great concern for law, but evidences also the concern of classical writers for the magistrates even more than the statutes.

"I confesse that the lawes of every countrey, are a certeyne birth right of all subjects that are borne therin, and if they be good and equall, it is a publike benefit, but much more so if they be well executed, by a just Prince, which importeth more than written lawes. For that he, as *M. Attorney* confesseth, is the soule of the law, that giveth life, who also without writen lawes, either municipall or Imperiall, may administer Justice, by law of nature and nations if he will. What speciall, or singular commodity then, is here shewed to issue out of the municipall lawes of England above others, that they should be called our ancient and best inheritance?"[80]

Father Parsons states the Gelasian Doctrine, which was long the very essence of the relationship of Church and State in medieval Europe. "And so, wheras the end of *Spirituall Authority* is to direct men to everlastinge Salvation of their soules, and the end Temperall Gouvernment, to procure their temporall prosperitie, but yet with referment, and subordination to the attainment also of life everlasting in the next world, it followeth by most certane consequence, that *Temporall Government* is subordinate to the spirituall, which is so much the more excellent and eminent, as is an everlastinge end, above a temporall; our immortell soule before our corruptible bodyes; and the Kingdome of heaven before worldlie prosperitie."[81]

And Fr. Parsons shows that these two powers and jurisdictions "may stand well togeather in agreement, peace and

80 *Answere to the Fifth Part of Reportes*, 14.
81 *Answere to the Fifth Part of Reportes*, 32; also cp. 24 and 358.

union."[82] The clergy and ecclesiastics "as members of that Common-wealth, are subject unto the Emperour, King, or other head of that Civill and politicke body, or Common-wealth in al temporall laws, and ordinances, not contrary to Gods law, nor the Cannons of holie Church; and are punishable for the same, though not in temporall courts, but spiritual."[83] Tradition and reason show this. "For that if any sorte of people should live in a Commonwealth, and not observe the laws thereof, it would be a perturbation to the whole. And for that these Civill laws, albeit their immediate end be temporall good; yet may the observation thereof be referred also to a higher spirituall end by good men, and therefore are all good subjects bont to obey them."[84] But "Cleargie men in spiritual matters cannot be under the laytie," and "Clergie mens persons and goods are exempted from secular power."

Coke's allegations that everyone conformed by attending the English Church until the Bull of Pius V was issued is shown to be untrue as well as slanderous.[85] But of far more importance is the attack which the Catholic Divine makes upon the ecclesiastic legislation by which Henry VIII by Parliament gave to Cranmer the power to dispense him from the marriage with Catherine of Aragon, and then when Henry seemed to be remorseful and shame-faced, that he should have had Parliament pass the Act (26 Henry VIII, 1) establishing the Supreme Headship, is further evidence of instability. He shows the pitiful plight of those whose souls were jeopardized by "these mutations of spirituall jurisprudences."[86] Also he calls attention to the fact that King Henry as Supreme Head condemned the heresies of the Protestants."[87]

[88]"And for so much as there can be but one true religion, that can bring us to salvation, it followeth, that whersoever this true spirituall power, and jurisdiction is found, there is the onlie true religion also, which a man may securlie follow; yea,

82 *Ibid.*, 40.
83 *Ibid.*, 41.
84 *Ibid.*, 42.
85 *Ibid.*, 369-374.
86 *Answere to the Fifth Part of Reportes*, 348.
87 *Ibid.*, 348.
88 *Ibid.*, 349. Preface to the Reader, ii 3.

that under paine of eternall damnation, he is bound to follow, for that this authoritie will lead him to life everlasting. Christ having given the keies of heaven therunto . . . for so much, as ever since this admirable, universall, and dreadfull authoritie was given (say they) by Christ on earth, unto the Governours of his Church, nothing is done in that Court of Heaven, but by presidence, and predetermination of that which is done or sentenced in the Tribunall of the militant Church on earth. . . . Wherof also the said fathers do inferre, that to find out this authoritie, and to follow the same, and the direction thereof, is the only sure way to salvation." "Wherefore al hope of life depending, as you see, of the soverayne point so as whosoever erreth in this, erreth in all; ech man wil easilie consider how much it importeth him to looke wel therunto," and to see whence this authority and jurisdiction is derived. Upon this point are the principle differences between the three different religions: "The Protestants deducing this spiritual power from the temporall Prince (or rather Princesse under Q. Elizabeth). The Puritans from the people. The Catholicke from the succession of Bishops from Christs time downe wardes, and especially from the highest, which they hold to be S. Peter, and his successorers. And which part so ever of these hitteth right goeth happely and securlie, and the other two doe dun to everlasting perdition."

William Watson denounced the Jesuits as being more dangerous to the State than the Puritans because of their superior ability, organization, and possibility of success, but he could not extend this condemnation to matters of faith, "for therin I must and will so long as they remain visible members of Gods Church, ever esteem of the worst and baddest Jesuit, better than of the best and sanctliest seeming Puritane that lives."[89] We have seen that the contest between Watson's party and the Jesuits concerned political purposes and methods primarily. Both parties stayed within the Church despite the fury of their attacks against each other. But we must not forget that they also had to contend against the great mass of English Protestants.

"Our mission is to bring the world to the foot of the Cross."

89 *A Decacordon*, 26.

These words were spoken not by the disciples in the first years of the Christian era or by the zealous preachers of the sixteenth century, but by a parish curate in the twentieth century America. They constitute the perpetual banner of the Church Militant. But to many people these words do not have great significance. In the sixteenth century they would have been understood. Jesuit, Secular, Presbyterian or worshiper at the Established Church had constantly before them the supernatural end for which they were created. Non-conformity or passive obedience were alike scandalous to the Christian of any sect.[90] The Protestant who claimed justification by faith and the appeal to the private judgment and interpretation nevertheless failed to sanction such plea when his own party was in the ascendency.[91] Intolerance was the established order. The Faith not only was to be defended, but also must be propagated.

Parsons tried to strengthen the faithful Catholics by his mission in 1580, but also to win back the English to the faith of their fathers. He expected that the English were really Catholic at heart and needed only the opportunity to prove it. He worked as missionary, as controversialist, as diplomatist, and also as spiritual guide. *The Book of Resolutions*, or as it was later called, *The Christian Directory*, manifests the purely spiritual zeal of the men whom many feared as an imp of Satan. Its popularity and efficacy were extraordinary. It was early printed in England after it had been perused and emended by Edmund Bunny[92] with a dedication to the Archbishop of York. It was perhaps largely to present a revised and unabridged edition that Parsons elaborated it into *The Christian Directory*.[93]

Parsons' whole career evidences his implicit recognition that our purpose in this life is only to serve God.[94] "This was the condition of our creation, and this was the onely consideration of our

90 Cp. WIBURN, *Checks or Reproofe of M. Howlet's*, App. Yy 3.
91 PARSONS, *Defence of the Censure*, 75-81.
92 Fr. Thurston thinks that Bunny knew that Parsons was the author. *The Month*, Dec., 1894.
93 In 1599, a man who had been reported for a suspicious remark was arrested for the possession of a copy of Parsons' *Directory* which had been mutilated by a heretic. ("Cath. Rec. Soc." I, 85.)
94 *Book of Resolution*, 18.

redemption."[95] Philip II's life in the Escurial shows how deeply this conception affected one of Europe's proudest monarch's. Parsons preached with fervent zeal the strict accountability of the individual soul to God. Just as the end of man is to serve God, the two things especially required of him are "the one to flie evill; and the other to do good."[96]

Parsons stoutly assailed the fundamental doctrines of the Protestant Reformation: justification by faith only and reliance upon the Scriptures alone as interpreted by private judgment.[97] He pointed to the necessity of good works and "of the severe account that we must yeald to God of the matters aforesaid."[98] The extraordinary efforescence of sincere religious zeal among English Catholics after the mission of 1580 brought with it an unusually high morality and religious virtue. For all that may be said of Parsons' political machinations, his private life was irreproachable. And the example which he set was followed by others. Similarly with his interpretation of Scripture, he rested upon the teachings of the Fathers, the Popes, and the Councils. Parsons' life as well as his teachings challenged the Protestant Reformation at every step.

Taunton, indeed, interpreted Parsons' career as determined by a strong sense of Puritanism, to which the Jesuit was said to have been addicted once. I cannot agree with him upon this. Puritan did indeed resemble Jesuit in political teaching very considerably, and also in the great stress upon the individual responsibility. But for all Parsons' remarks on Predestination, I do not find evidence of Puritan influence. There is a strong mixture in his teachings of the pragmatic argument with that of predestination. He points to the fact that God has generally prospered the deposition of evil princes wonderfully "therby both to justify the fact, and to remedy the faulte of him that went before.[99] On the other hand, he resembles Tyndal in declaring "that tribulation (especially when grace is also given

95 *Book of Resolution*, 41.
96 *Ibid.*, 26.
97 Cp. TYNDAL'S *Obedience of a Christian Man;* PARSON'S *Answere to Barlow*, 431-447; *Epistle of the Persecution*, 11.
98 *Book of Resolution*, 41.
99 TYNDAL, *op. cit.*, 174, 232.

to beare it patientlie) is a great conjecture of predestination to eternell life," while "to live in continuall prosperity, is a dreadful signe of everlasting reprobation."[100] But Parsons' main point is always to serve the Lord constantly and sincerely, "especially seeing God is a great God, and rewardeth smal things with great wages, either of everlasting glory or everlasting pain."[101]

Equivocation was defended by him at great length, but it must have been an unpalatable makeshift, for Parsons was primarily a man of no compromise. Verbal or mental equivocation is permitted under circumstances of necessity, but he draws the line against plain, intentional deception.[102] He accused the Protestants of great proficiency in the art,[103] singling out Jewell, particularly. I might add that Elizabeth's diplomacy is a strong rival of Bismarck's in this respect. The circumstances of missionary work in England necessitated some degree of evasion, but the number martyred because of unwillingness to profess Elizabeth's supreme spiritual power proves that the Jesuits would not equivocate too far. Parsons' concluding chapter contains "a briefe exhortation to Catholickes not to use the liberty of equivocation, even in lawfull cases, but where some urgent occasion induceth them therunto."[104]

We must remember that Parsons' great work was to end the practice of compromise with conscience, which as Meyer points out, had led to the great English apostacy.[105] Parsons' conception of the sublime importance of every individual soul for whose salvation Christ had suffered crucifixion, was clear. He schooled his readers not in equivocation but in "a strong and firme resolution, to stande up and go through, what opposition or contradiction soever we find in the world, either of fawning flatterie, or persecuting crueltie."[106] Parsons had urged Catholics not to go to the English Church because of its heresies and he always urged reconciliation to the word of God "Whiles

100 *Book of Resolution*, 294.
101 *Ibid.*, 39.
102 *Treatise tending to mitigation*, 484-485.
103 *Ibid.*, 490.
104 *Ibid.*, 545.
105 MEYER, *op. cit.*, 70.
106 *Book of Resolution*, 311, 316.

though hast time and esteeme not all this world worth a straw in respect to this one act; for so shalt though be a most happie and thrice happier man."[107] "Remember often that woorthie sentence: *"Hoc momentum, unde pendet aeternitas:* this life is a moment of time, wherof all eternitie of life or death to come dependeth."[108] That is the great fact which constantly confronted Parsons and with which he confronted the world. By it he converted many from the paths of evil. As he pointed out, following St. Augustine, "Sinne is a humane acte, voluntarilie and wittinglie committed against the lawe of God."[109] To Parsons, kingdoms signified little but the word of God signified everything. The good life, according to God, could be lived easily by man. Sin could and must be avoided. Men must be induced to live Christian lives; to that end the entire State must serve. The State must help the Church, and the Church must save men's souls. Man's highest end in life is to serve God, and all his institutions should be directed to that purpose.

"Our Lord God and Savior Jesus Christ which was content to paie his own blood for the purchasing of this notable inheritance unto us, give us his holie grace, to esteem of it as the great weight of the matter requireth, and not by negligence to leese our portions therein."[110].

IV

The Jesuits' Memorial

Towards what end did Parsons labor during his thirty-six crowded years in the Society of Jesus? Some critics have argued that his later life was spent in the ardent service of the King of Spain and others infer a sheer lust for power or a perverted zeal for the predominance of his Society. For my part, I should reject all these interpretations. Robert Parsons seems to me to have been occupied always with the one single object—the reestablishment of the Church in England *upon the best possible terms*. The English Church had been wrenched away from

107 *Book of Resolution*, 490.
108 *Ibid.*, 190.
109 *Defense of the Censure*, 100.
110 *Book of Resolution*, 191.

communion with Rome by the force of hard practicalities. The *fait accompli* defied the best of historical claims. Consequently, Parsons sought to wedge the way back into the realm by methods which often resembled those by which the religion had been dispossessed. Parsons used logic and weapons of almost every sort in order to re-establish the Faith which he believed the larger number of Englishmen still clung to inwardly.

We have no more right to charge treason in our sense against the sixteenth century Jesuit because he labored to restore his religion to his native land through the instrumentality of a foreign prince than we may justly impute it to the sincere philanthropist to-day who strives to effect the establishment of a supernational League. To the first, religion was the all pervading tradition; to the second, peace and justice transcend a traditional nationalism. It was strict loyalty to a long standing ideal in the first case; in the second, it is the propagation of an idea existing only spasmodically in the past. Both have the same underlying attitude—the firm belief in a truth deeper than that of the existing national order. To Parsons and to most of his contemporaries, religion signified all that was good and true in this life, including the Christian fraternization of peoples—while to us peace and justice are ideals which should transcend the narrow limitations of a jingoistic patriotism.

Robert Parsons loved his countrymen too well to allow them to sink into heresy and eternal damnation. As Meyer says,[111] "He and his friends fought indeed for the church, not, therefore, against their country but *adversus impietatem patriam.*"

"The best evidence of Parsons' purely religious zeal is in the manuscript which he wrote in 1596 from notes covering a space of years, for the purpose of perpetuating his ideas for the re-establishment of the Faith lest he should die before England was reconquered." It is a scheme whereby his native land should be thoroughly converted and be made into a perfect state.[112]

So thoroughly idealistic is the *Memorial,* despite its close attention to practical details, that I should not hesitate to class

111 MEYER, *op. cit.*, 288, 298.
112 *Jesuits' Memorial,* Preface of the Author.

it with the great Utopias which have so often been put forward. Little objection may be made to this classification if the Jesuits' plans are understood. As with Plato, however, Parsons may not be understood until or unless his terms are defined.

Religion was Parsons' very life—and it furnishes the key to the *Memorial* just as much as to the *Conference*. He wanted far more than the re-establishment of the old order. He wanted a perfect Christian state. Even Spain could not serve as a model, for it lacked the perfectly balanced religious character which the new government must have. Yet because Spain could furnish strength and support while the innovation was being perfected, Parsons did favor the establishment of a Spanish monarch.[113] The English were to govern themselves as soon and as much as possible. In fact, after the reconversion was perfected, Parsons looked forward to the English going as missionaries into Europe.[114]

The ideal which is set forth in the *Memorial* is *living the good life*. Perhaps more Aristotelian than Platonic, the conception of the State is that it exists for the sake of the good life. Its whole nature and purpose centers about the single function of encouraging and enabling the individual to fulfill the object of his existence. Education and legislation are devised with unusual concern in order to promote the best that is in man. To lead the good life according to justice is the aim which the Jesuit portrayed for the citizens of the reformed Europe. Bad influences are to be removed and youth is to be trained diligently and discriminately. The subject again is to be free by obedience to perfect laws.

Parsons differs from the Greeks in his definition of terms. Plato may have been primarily a religious mystic just as Parsons has been described, but their ecstacy was of a different sort. Plato is intellectual where Parsons is spiritual. The great gulf between them is the fact of Christianity. Plato was looking to a religion predominantly intellectual, "Wherefore my counsel is, that we hold fast ever to the heavenly way and

113 HUME, *Treason and Plot*, 287.

114 Europe's fate seemed to hang upon that of England—as Sander's words above quoted show.

follow after justice and virtue always, considering that the soul is immortal and able to endure every sort of good and every sort of evil."[115] To Parsons, however, the immortal soul was living on earth a period of probation before the judgment that occurs at death and the eternal reward or punishment that is to come in the next world. Consequently man must live strictly according to God in order to attain the sublime bliss which awaits the faithful.

To Parsons, justice indeed means righteousness. The highest liberty is willing obedience to the teachings of Christ. Felicity is attained even if physical tortures are constant, if only the soul remains true to Christ. The martyr's crown was a supreme reward rather than cruel torture. Campion gave an example of Christian fortitude and perfect zeal—while Parsons remained to make it possible for all men to reach the ineffable joy which the Blessed Edmund had attained, even in his last moments at Tyburn. Man's *summum bonum* is so to live as to attain eternal salvation.

"The Jesuits Memorial for the Intended Reformation of England under their first Popish Prince[116] suggests the best arrangements which may be made so that the people of England could permanently be assured the best temporal conveniences for the living of the perfect life according to God.[117]

The theory of the projected State is essentially Gelasian; "so as both these Governments joined together in a Christian Commonwealth, and one not disdaining or emulating the other, but honoring rather, respecting and assisting the same, all goeth well both for the Temporal, and everlasting felicity of all." The second decree of the proposed Parliament after the re-establishment is to be "that every man be sworne to defend the Catholick Roman Faith; and moreover, that it be made Treason for ever for any men to propose any change therof, or for the Introduction of Heresie."[118]

115 *Republic*, X, 621 (trans. by Jowett).

116 TAUNTON reprints much of it in his Appendix, *op. cit.*, 477-491. Also cp. *ibid.* 444-445 for a commentary perhaps exaggerated.

117 I shall attempt to give only a broad outline of its plans. The incidental features are very interesting, however.

118 *Jesuits' Memorial*, 105-106.

Is this an example of fierce bigotry? Again, Parsons whole plan must be considered before any single item of it be condemned. We must refer back to what was said about toleration to understand this insistance upon the maintenance of the religion. A tacit toleration is to be observed to all those who live peacefully and had not been the leaders in the recent persecution of Catholicism.[119] Gradually they are to be readmitted to the churches, but slowly and with moderation. They must not be forced to conform. Parsons really wanted to root out heresy by exposing its error. Unanimity of belief by real persuasion was to be attained. The truth can afford to be tolerant, for it must prevail over error and heresy.

Similarly it is the duty of the Catholic prince to make good provision of law—"in such manner must he link the state of Catholic Religion and Succession together, as the one may depend, and be the assurance of the other." Under the circumstances, Parsons' suggestion can hardly be objected to by the land which recognizes the Act of Settlement to be a Fundamental law. The *Memorial* also suggested that Parliament should examine Elizabeth's title, especially considering Pius V's Declaration of Deposition. If her title is found bad, all her acts *ipso facto* are null and void,[120] except for the sake of peace and security any acts of common justice all her other acts are to be void or suspended until confirmed by the next Prince. Acts prejudicial to the Catholic religion are to be repealed and those favoring it restored.[121]

The common law of England which was brought in by the Normans in matters of life and death is contrary to the laws of other nations "also against every Reason and Justice itself; and against all Law of Nature also."[122] He compares them to the wise and just provisions of the Imperial law of Justinian.[123] "And as on the one side, Christian Charity moveth to wish that to men accused for their lives, all lawful and reasonable liberty of defense, and tryal should be given; so on the other side the

119 *Ibid.*, 32.
120 *Memorial*, 108-109.
121 *Ibid.*, 107.
122 *Ibid.*, 248.
123 *Ibid.*, 249-250.

same charity requireth that those that shall be found culpable, should without remission, or hope of pardon, be punished for the example of others; and for avoiding the great infamy of our Nation—touching robbing on the High-ways."[124] These provisions[125] for the amelioration of trial, moderation but strict application of the law, and substitution of bodily punishment are very interesting.[126] He especially pleads for better use of the jury system.

"For that the English Parliament, by old received custom of the Realm in the Fountain, as it were, of all publick laws, and settled orders within the land, our principal case is to be had that this high Court and Tribunal be well reformed and established at the beginning."[127] Parsons knew Bodin's book, but it is evident that he was not influenced by any conception of legislative sovereignty. It is especially noteworthy to see the difference between the statements of Christopher Lever who finds the whole authority of the state in the person of the king with the really superfluous sanction of "the generall wisdome of the Kingdom,"[128] and those of Dolman that in England "no general law can be made without consent of parliament."[129] Even with the Christian monarch on the throne Parsons would still reject absolutism. As Tyndal said,[130] "The king is but a servant to execute the laws of God."

Rather Parsons urges that the participation of ecclesiastics should be greatly augmented in both Houses.[131] The lower clergy should be admitted into the lower House; and the bishops should confirm the election of knights and burgesses. The Jesuit was not interested in republican government itself as such, but rather in the perfection of the laws and administration. The quality of the government was for him the criterion even as for Aristotle. Representation is a means to an end, and by no means an aim in itself. The chief end of a common-

124 *Memorial*, 252.
125 Cp. *Ibid.*, Part iii, ch. 2.
126 *Ibid.*, 211-213.
127 *Ibid.*, 102.
128 LEVER, *op. cit.*, 294-295.
129 *Conference* I 29.
130 TYNDAL, *op. cit.*, B 369.
131 *Memorial*, 103, 104.

wealth is supernatural; and both revelation and natural reason teach that the soul's "felicity, perfection, and full contentment which they call her final ende and *sumum bonum* could not be in this life, nor in anything created under heaven, but must needs be in the life to come."[132]

Somewhat naturaliy, therefore, the Jesuit advocated aristocracy in society—in the Greek sense of the term. He himself had labored among the country gentry, especially when in England in order to place the religion upon a firm foundation among them. Also the older aristocracy was largely Catholic, and the Rising of 1569 was perhaps as much their revolt against an upstart nobility as it was a matter of religion. The nobility and gentry are to be restored to their merits.[133] They are to set the proper standard of living and to exercise wise and benevolent control over their servants. Essentially they are to be the bulwark of society. The younger sons and even the heirs are advised to study.[134] The Church, of course, is open to those properly qualified, and nunneries should attract as many girls as possible. The younger sons are advised especially to enter a Military Order of Knights,[135] which is to extirpate heresy primarily and also pirates and bandits.

The Jesuit makes special provision for the poor, particularly advising the establishment of banks "where poor men might either freely or with very little interest have Mony upon sureties, and not be forced to take it up at intolerable usury, as oftentimes it happeneth to the utter undoing and general hurt of the Commonwealth." These are largely to be established from the general fund under the supervision of the Council of Reformation." He favored the old "assize" as an expeditious and excellent method of land tenure, expecially in view of the necessity of some sort of restitution of church lands without disturbing too seriously those who occupied the holdings.[136] This harks back towards feudalism, which even then still had a tenacious tradition in the country.[137]

132 *Conference*, I 204.
133 *Memorial*, 220-226.
134 *Memorial*, 227.
135 *Ibid.*, 70-79, 222-223.
136 *Ibid.*, 232-237.
137 SIMPSON, *op. cit.*, 152.

Education is another large factor in his scheme.[138] He advises still more grammar schools where reading, writing, figuring, and knowledge of Christian Doctrine may be taught. Perhaps Parsons recalled his own childhood when he wrote: "And when good wits are discovered, they should be sent to higher schools, and thence to the Seminaries to go forward in learning. And particular care ought to be had . . . that men be not suffered to bring up their children idly, without some talent of Study, Art, Science, or Occupation."[139]

The main feature of the book perhaps is the Council of Reformation.[140] This is a sort of Inquisition of wise and earnest men, established by King, Parliament, and Pope to superintend the establishment of the English Church. They are to be of particularly concerned with ecclesiastical rents and the reestablishment of the Catholic hierarchy. He stresses the necessity of the restitution of church lands on reasons of moral obligation, God's will, etc., and points to the old English custom of rents or assizes as an estimable method of effecting this.[141] He advises, however, that the lands be restored not merely on the basis of previous ownership, "but rather in place of many of them, good Colleges, Universities, Seminaries, Schools, for increasing of our Clergy, as also of divers Houses of other Orders, that do deal more in preaching and helping of Souls."[142] I do not think that Parsons need be accused of covetousness for his Society in making this suggestion; for the Jesuits, although a new Order, were indeed bearing the weight of the Counter-Reformation. He suggests that benefices be assigned after trial[143] according to and dependent upon merit.

The obligations upon holy days should be restricted so that they may not constitute too heavy a burden upon the poor.[144]

"Some such officer as the Romans called their Censor to look that no man lived idly, nor brought up his Children without some exercies and means to live, would be of importance for this

138 *Memorial*, 260-261.
139 *Ibid.*, 261.
140 *Ibid.*, Part I, Chapters, 7, 8, 9. Also pp. 177, 188, 205.
141 *Ibid.*, Ch. 5.
142 *Ibid.*, 57, Cp. also 188.
143 *Ibid.*, 74, Cp. also 131.
144 *Ibid.*, 85-86.

Reformation."[145] Similarly visitors should be appointed to reform the universities, etc.[146] An effective sort of Inquisition should be instituted to try "sweet Means" but resolution "if necessary."[147] But the bishops themselves and the clergy must live virtuously for the edification of all.[148] "Brotherly Correction" is advised especially for Englishmen.

The Memorial attempts to sketch the arrangements and machinery by which a perfect Reformation may be effected. England has been purged by the fire of persecution and should be zealous for complete conversion to the Christian life. Whenever this change of religion occurs "Then it will be lawful for a good Catholic Prince that God shall send, and for a well affected Parliament, which himself and the time will easily procure to begin anew and to build from the very foundation the external face of our Catholick Church, and to follow the Model which themselves will chuse, and if that will be a good and perfect Model, it will endure at least for a time, and be a pattern of true Christianity to the rest of the World."[149]

It was the purpose of the *Memorial* to suggest ways by which the reformed religion might be solidly based so that it would prosper and endure. As Parsons writes of one of its agencies, "And finally this Council of Reformation is to leave the Church of England, and temporal state, (so far forth as pertaineth to Religion) as a Garden newly planted, with all kind and variety of sweet Herbs, Flowers, Trees, and Seeds, and fortified as a strong Castle, with all necessary defence for continuance and preservation of the same, so as England may be a spectacle for the rest of the Christian World round about it; and Almighty God glorified according to the infinite multitude of dishonors done unto him in these late years."[150]

With such a goal as this before him, Parsons bent every effort to secure the accession of a Catholic Prince. If he himself could have acted as adviser to the King, I venture to suggest that the thorough conversion of England would have followed. Parsons

145 *Ibid.*, 89-90.
146 *Ibid.*, 90, 214.
147 *Ibid.*, 99-100, 121-148.
148 *Ibid.*, 217-218.
149 *Ibid.*, 15-16.
150 *Ibid.*, p. 100.

was a dynamic and thoroughly able leader even in adversity. If he could have had a strong Catholic prince upon the English throne with no fears of domestic or foreign revolt, he would have made a magnificent and effective attempt to carry out this Memorial. Instead, the Stuarts ascended the throne of England.

Robert Parsons conceived of the corporate community as a distinct means to the welfare of the individuals who composed it. He was an advocate of freedon but could not countenance license to commit wrong. His ideal was purely spiritual, as befitted the age which then was only passing away. In his fight for the old order, he combatted tyranny and sin. His methods were occasionally devious, but are seldom to be condemned when the circumstances of his effort are understood. He never forgot that laws are but human efforts to enact the fundamental law which is the foundation of society and the universe. Robert Parsons' long perseverance and glorious struggle can be understood only by two phrases which explain the Society to which he belonged and in which he labored.

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A Conference About the Next Succession to the Crowne of England, Divided into two partes, whereof the first contayneth the discourse of a civill Lawyer how and in what manner propinquity of blood is to be preferred. And the second the speech of a Temporell Lawyer, about the particular titles of all such as do or may pretende within Ingland or without to the next succession. Published by R. Doleman, Imprinted at N. with Licence, MDXCIII. Br. 1760.8*.
There is a copy of the first edition in the Treasure Room in Widener.

Elizabethae Angliae Reginae. Haeresin Calvinianum Propugnantis. Saevissimum in Catholicos sui regni edictum, . . . Br. 1735.166.2.
Cum responsione ad singula capita. Per D. Andricam Philopatum presbyterum. 1592, with two later editions which are in Widener.
BUTLER'S *Memoirs of English Catholics* summarizes this extraordinary volume, 25-42, ii.

Life of Campion, unfinished, 1594. Privately printed in the Manresa Press Letters and Notices for 1877, 1878. See *Miscellanea II*, Catholic Record Society.

The Jesuits' Memorial for the intended reformation of England under their first Popish Prince. (Mss. of ca

1596.) Published from the copy that was presented to the late King James II. With an Introduction, and some Animadversions, by EDWARD GEE, Rector of St. Benedict Paul's Wharf and Chaplain Br. 1735.167.5. Printed MDCXC at the Rose and Crown, St. Paul's Church-yard.

A Temporate Ward-Word to the Turbulent and Seditious Watchword of Sir Francis Hastinges, Knight, who indevoreth to slaunder the whole Catholique Caues, and all professors thereof, both at home and abrode. By N. D. Antwerp, 1599.

Nicolai Sanderi De Origine ac Progressu Schismatis Anglicana Libres Tres. Aucti per Edwardum Rishtonem, Rome, 1586. Parsons edited a reissue about 1601-1602, adding the Journal of Edward Rishton, who was held in the Tower for five years.

A Briefe Apologie or Defence of the Catholike Ecclesiasticall Hierarchie, and Subordination in England, erected these later yeares by our holy Father Pope Clement the Eyght; and impugned by certayne libels printed and published of late both in Latin and English by some unquiet persons under the name of Priests of the Seminaries. Jan. 1602.
Very rare. No copy in Brit. Museum.
See POLLEN, *Institution of Archpriest Blackwell*, 102-103.

A Manifestation of the Great Folly and bad spirit of Certayne in England calling themselves Secular Priestes.

An Appendix to the Apologie lately set forth, for Defence of the Hierarchie and Subordination of the English Catholike Church. June, 1602.

The Warn Word to Sir Francis Hastings Wast Word, Antwerp, 1602.

A treatise of three conversions of England from paganism to Christian religion. By N. D. 1603-1604. Br. 326.03*—3 volumes.

Printed with this are *A relation of the triall made before the king of France, upon the yeare 1600 between the bishop of Eureux and the Plessis Mornay, 1604* and *A Review of the publike disputations,* 1604.

A Review of Ten Publike Disputations or Conferences held within the compasse of foure yeares, under K. Edward and Qu. Mary, concerning some principal points in Religion, especially of the *Sacrament and sacrifice of the Altar,* wherby, may appeare upon how weake groundes both Catholike Religion was changed in England; as also the fore-recounted Foxian Martyrs did build their new opinions, and offer themselves to the fire for the same, which was chiefly upon the creditt of the said Disputations. By N. D. 1604. Also bound separately. Br. 1760.16*.

The Judgment of a Catholic Englishman, concerning King James' Apology for the Oath of Allegiance.

The Fore-runner of Bels downfal, wherein is briefly answered his bragging offer of disputation and insolent challenge. St. Omer, 1605.

An Answer to Thomas Bel's late Challenge named by him the Dounfal of popery, etc., 1605. (*By Richard Smith of Chalcedon,* but sometimes attributed to Parsons.) C. 4226.05*.

This book would seem to have been written by Parsons. The style and contents make me believe that he wrote it. PROFESSOR MCILWAIN accredits it to Parsons, as does the D. N. B.

An Answere to the Fifth Part of Reports lately set forth by Syr Edward Cooke Knight, the King's attorney generall. Concerning the ancient and moderne Municipall laws of England which do apperteyne to Spirituall Power and Jurisdiction. By occasion whereof and of the

principall Questions set down in the second page, there is laid forth an evident, plaine, and perspicuous Demonstration of the continuance of Catholike Religion in England from the first King christened, unto these days. By a Catholiche Deuyne. St. Omer, 1606. Br. 326.06.

The Doleful Knell of Thomas Bell. . . . Wherin his manifest untruths, gross corruptions, cunning slightes, vaine cavils, immodest railing, insolent challenging, and idle excursions, be noted, examined, and refuted. By B. C., student in Divinitye, Roane, 1607.

A Treatise tending to mitigation towardes Catholicke subjects in England, wherein is declared, that it is not impossible for subjects of different religions, especially Catholiches and protestantes to live together in obedience and subjection under the government of his Majesty of Great Britain. Against the seditious wrytings of Thomas Morton and some others to the contrary, whose two false and slaunderous groundes, pretended to be drawne from Catholicke doctrines and practise, concerning Rebellion and Equivocation are overthrowne, and cast upon himselfe. By P. R., 1607. Gay 1607.669.10.

Bells triall examined, that is, A Refutation of the Treatise intituled The Trial of the newe Religion. By B. C. Likewise a short review of one T. Rogers. Roan, 1608.

Dutifull and respective considerations upon foure severall heads of Pryell in matters of religion, proposed by the high and mighty Prince James . . . in his late books of Premonition to all Christian princes. . . . By a late minister and preacher in England. St. Omer, 1609.
Formerly passed under the name of H. Leech, but the orginial Mss. in Parsons' hand used to be in the library of English College at Rome.
Gillow, 35, under Persons.

D. N. B. reports it as written by Persons for Humphry Leech.

A Quiet and Sober Reckoning with M. Thomas Morton, somewhat set in choler by his adversary P. R., concerning certain imputations. . . . There is also adjoiyned a piece of a Reckoning with Syr Edward Cooke, now L. Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, about a Nihil decet, and some other points uttered by him in two Preambles to his Sixt and Seaventh Parts of Reports. St. Omer, 1609.
This is attributed to Parsons upon Gillow's authority.

A Discussion of the Answere of M. William Barlow, D of Divinity, to the Booke intituled: The Judgment of a Catholike Englishman living in banishment for his Religion and concerning The Apology of the new Oath of Allegiance. Written by the R. Father, F. Robert Persons of the Society of Jesus.
St. Omer 1612. Br. 1735.166.15.
Epitome Controversarium hujus temporis. Mss. at Balliol Coll.

De editione Concertatione Anglicane, opus imperfectum Personii Mss. 3 large volumes at Stonyhurst. It was planned as a full history of the reformation from the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII.

B. Manuscripts reprinted.

An Observation of Certayne Aparent Judgments of almighty God against suche as have been seditious in the English Catholique cause for these nine or ten yeares past. Written the first of December, 1598. Misc. II, Cath. Rec. Soc.

Autobiography in Latin with Translation *Misericordias Domini in aeternum cantabo.* Por me Rob. Persons. Cath. Rec. Soc., Misc. II.

Certaine Notes of Memory concerning the first entrance of ye fathers of ye Soc. of Jesus into England by way of mission in ye years of X 1580.
Cath. Rec. Soc. Misc. II, 186-201.

A Storie of Domesticall Difficulties, 1600.
Cath. Rec. Soc. Misc. II, 48-105.

Notes concerning the English Mission the Year 1581, trans. from the Italian (both texts) of Fr. Grene.
Cath. Rec. Soc., Misc. IV, 1-35.

Notes Concerning the English Mission, for the Year, 1582.
Misc. IV, 35-75, Cath. Rec. Soc.

Notes for the Year 1583, Misc. Iv. 75-129.
Cath. Rec. Soc., Mis. IV., 75-129.

A Political Retrospect, Father Persons, 6 July 1602, to Fr. Anthony Rivers, that is to Father Garnett his Companion.
Cath. Rec. Soc., Misc. II, 213, ff.

Annals of the English College, Seville, With an account of four other foundations from 1589 to 1595, an unfinished Memoir, written by Father Robert Persons, S.J., in 1610.
Cath. Rec. Soc., Misc. X, Vol. 14, 1-24.

Memorandam Allen and Persons, given to Olivares 18 March, sent by Olivares to Philip II, March 23, 1587, before news of Mary's execution. Spanish text at p. 281.
Letters of Allen.

Considerations why it is desirable to carry through the enterprise of England before discussing the succession to the throne of that country, claimed by his Majesty, by Parsons 18 March 1587.
TAUNTON, *op cit.,* 116 ff.

Books from Catholic point of view and favoring Jesuits. Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism, Nicolas Sander (1585 with continuation by Rev. Edw. Richton). Trans. with Introd. and notes by David Lewis, Burns and Oatis, London, 1877. (Also earlier copies are in Windsor.)

A true, sincere, and modest Defence of English Catholics that suffer for their faith both at home and abroad, against a false, seditious and slanderous libel, entitled: The Execution of Justice in England, by WILLIAM ALLEN, 1584. Prepared by Cardinal Bourne, Archbishop of Westminster, 1914, Manresa Press, London; B. Herder, St. Louis.

Letters and Memorials of Wm. Cardinal Allen, 1594. Ed. by Fathers of the congregation of the London Oratory with an Hist. Introd. by T. F. KNOX, D.D. D. North, London, 1882. A valuable book.

The First and second Diaries of the English College, Douay. Appendix of unpublished Documents, Ed. by Fathers of the Congregation of the London Oratory, with an Hist. Introd. by Francis Knox, D.D. David North, London, 1878.

The Archbishop Controversy, Cath. Rec. Soc. Miscl. XII. Contributed by the late FR. RAYMUND C. STANFIELD. *Historical Narrative* by JOHN BENNETT, Priest, 1621.

D. *Bibliographical and biographical sources.*

The Life of Fr. Parsons, an English Jesuite, in Thomas James' *Jesuits Downfal,* Oxford, 1612.

Joannis Pitsei, . . . *Relationum Historicam de Rebus Anglicis* Parisiis, MDCXIX.

John Southcote, D.D. in 1628 in *Historical Notes* gives a brief history of Parsons' work. Cath. Rec. Soc. 1.

The History of Popish Treasons and Usurpations by Henry Foules, 1681, London (Orig. 1666). C. 4226-71.7F. Most of the material is from Protestant secular sources. It is an interesting 17th century source for anecdotes and perhaps unreliable material. I suspect that DR. GEE culled his Introduction from this book.

A Literary and Biographical history and Bibliographical Dictionaries of the English Catholics, 1534-1902, JOSEPH GILLOW, 1902, Burns and Oates, London.
Vol. V, under "Persons," GILLOW has much material but is not strictly reliable at all times.

"Persons," article in *Dictionary of National Biography,* by T. G. LAW.
A good bibliography in this valuable article by *T. G. Law.*

E. *General Works Forming Background.*

The Works of the English Reformers; William Tyndale and John Firth. Ed. by THOMAS RUSSELL, (Ebenezer Palmer, London, 1831.)
Contains *The Obedience of a Christian Man,* and *How Christian Rulers Ought to Govern.* 1528.
The Practice of Prelates (1531). *Whether the King's Grace may be separated from his Queen, because she was his brother's wife.*

*Cranmer, Works, (*The Parker Society.*)*

The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe, Ed. by REV. S. R. CUTTLEG. (R. B. Seeley, W. Burside, 1841.)

A Defence of Liberty Against Tyrants. (Vindiciae Contra Tyrannos, by Junius Brutus.) *Hist. Introd.* by H. J. LASKI. (London, G. Bell & Sons, 1921.

The History of the Defenders of the Catholique Faith, CHRISTOPHER LEVER, London, 1627. Br. 1760.15.

Camden, Annals or the *History of Elizabeth,* Translated by ROBERT NORTON, 3rd Ed. 1635. Br. 1735.39.5*.

F. *Opposition*

A Checke or Reproofe of M. Howlets untimely shreeching in her Maiesties eares, with an answear to the reasons alleged in a discourse thereunto annexed, why Catholikes (as they are called) refuse to goe to church. By PERCEVAL WIBURN, London, 1587.

A Caveat for Parsons Howlet, concerning his untimely flighte, and schreeching in the cleare day lights of the Gospel. . . .
By JOHN FIELDS, student in Divinitie, Aug. 30, 1581. Br. 1735.158.

A Briefe Confutation of a Popish Discourse by W. FULKE, 1581. Br. 1735.160*.

The Great Bragge and Challenge of M. Champion a Jesuits, . . . confuted and answered by Meredith Hanmer, 1581. Br. 1773.9.8.

A true report of the Disputation or rather private conference had in the Tower of London, with Ed. Campion, Jesuite, the last of Auguste, 1581, set downe by the Reverend learned men themselves that dealt therin. Printed 1583. C. 1141.8.43*.

Execution of Justice, Harleian Mis. ii, 122 et seq. Ed. of 1744. Anonymous (Burleigh.)

The True Difference betweene Christian Subjection and Unchristian rebellion, THOMAS BILSON, Warden of Winchester, Oxford, 1585. Br. 1735.165.9.

Answer to Dolman on the succession to the English Crown, usually attributed to Charles Paget, a layman. See MCILWAIN, *Political Works of James I,* xciii.

Observation upon a Bibel, Bacon, Cp. MEYER, *op cit.*, 354.

Apostate Protestant, Pelling, Edw.

Right of Succession Against the Sophisms of Parsons the Jesuit. Orig. in Latin. Eng. trans. 1703. By SIR THOMAS CRAIG.

Answer to the first part of a certain conference concerning succession, published not long since under the name of R. Dolman. SIR JOHN HAYWARD, At London, 1503. Br. 166.03.

A true and exact History of the Succession of the Crown of England. Collected out of records and the best historians by R. BRADY, Md.

An Answere made by one of our brethren, a secular priest, now in prison, to a fraudulent letter of M. George Blackwels, written to Cardinall Caetane, 1596.1602. ANDREAS PHILALETHES (Pseud.)

A True Relation, BAGSHAWE, App. 1-134.

Certaine Briefe Notes upon a briefe apologie set out under the name of the Priests united to the Archpriest. Drawne by an unpassionate secular Priest friend to both partyes, but more friend to the truth. Paris by PETER LYHERVESTRE, 1603. Gay 1603.106.35.

An Answear of M. Doctor Bagshaw to certayne poyntes of a libell called an apoligie of the subordination in England. Printed in the back part of Ely's *Briefe Notes.*

A Decacordon of Ten Quodlibeticall Questions Concerning Religion wherein the author framing himself a Quilibet to every Quodlibet, decides a hundred closse Interrogetory doubts, about the general contentions betwixt the Semin-

arie Priests and Jesuits at the present. Newly imprinted, 1602. Wm. Watson, 1559-1603. (Copy in Windsor.)

A Sparing Discoverie of our English Jesuits and of Fr. Parsons' proceedings under pretexte of promoting the Catholike faith in England. Watson.

Puritano, papismus, a Discoverie of Puritan papisme: may by way of Dialogue or Conference between a Protestant and a Puritane. Annexed to The Picture of a Puritane, OLIVER *Ormerod,* 1605.

The subversion of Robert Parsons, his worke entitled, A treatise of three conversions of England from paganism to Christian religion. MATTHEW SUTCLIFFE, 1606.

II

Present Day Books and Articles

ACTON, *John Emerich Edward Dalberg. History of Freedom and other Essays.* (Ed. with Introd. by FIGGIS and LAWRENCE. Macmillan & Co., London, 1909.)
Anglican Essays. Macmillan & Co., 1923.

Benedictine Brethren of Glendolayh, *Romantic Biography of the Age of Elizabeth.* (Ed. by WM. COOKE TAYLOR, R. BENTLEY, London, 1842.)

BIRT, HENRY NORBERT. *The Elizabethan Religious Settlement.* (G. Bell & Sons, London, 1907.)
An illuminating and painstaking study of Catholicism under Elizabeth.

BRIDGETT, T. E. and KNOX, T. F. *The True Story of the Catholic Heirarchy Deposed by Queen Elizabeth.* (Burnes & Oates Ltd., London, and Cath. Publ. Soc. Co., N. Y., 1889.)

BUTLER, CHARLES. *Historical Memoirs of the English-Irish-Scotch Catholics.* (4 vol. 3rd Ed., 1822.)

Catholic Record Society, London, 1905, et seq. The publications of this Society render available many mss. sources otherwise unavailable to the student here. Accuracy and fullness make the volumes especially valuable. Fr. Pollen has edited most of the material which it has printed on Fr. Parsons.

FIGGIS, JOHN NEVILLE. *The Divine Right of Kings.* (2nd ed. Cambridge University Press, 1914.) (1st ed. 1896.)

FIGGIS, JOHN NEVILLE. *From Gerson to Grotius*, 1474-1625. (2nd Ed. reprinted. Cambridge. University Press, 1923.) (1st ed. 1907.)

FISHER, H. A. L. *The Republican Tradition in Europe.* Lowell Lectures for 1910. (G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1911, N. Y.)

HAILE, MARTIN. *An Elizabethan Cardinal, William Allen.* (Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, Ltd., London, 1919.)

HUGHES, REV. THOMAS. *Loyola and the Educational System of the Jesuits.* (Charles Scribner's Sons, N. Y., 1892.)

HUME, MARTIN A. S. *Struggles for Catholic Supremacy in the Last Years of Queen Elizabeth.* (James Nisbet & Co., Ltd., London, 1901. *The Great Lord Burghley, A Study in Elizabethan Statescraft.* (James Nesbet & Co., London, 1898.) *Two English Queens and Philip.* (G. P. Putnam's Sons, N. Y., 1908; Methuen & Co., London, 1908.)

JESSOPP, AUGUSTUS. *One Generation of a Norfolk House.* (2nd Ed. 1879.)

KLEIN, ARTHUR JAY. *Intolerance in the Reign of Elizabeth.* (Houghton Mifflin, Cambridge, 1917.)

LAW, THOMAS GRAVES. *A Historical Sketch of the Conflicts Between Jesuits and Seculars in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.* (David North, London, 1889.)

MACAULEY. *Burleigh and his Times,* in *Critical, Historical and Miscellaneous Essays and Poems.* (Clark, Given and Hooper, N. Y.)

MCILWAIN, CHARLES HOWARD. *The American Revolution. A Constitutional Interpretation.* (MacMillan, N. Y., 1924.) *The Political Works of James I,* edited with introduction by Professor McIlwain (Harvard Univ. Press, Cambridge, 1918.) An extremely broad and thorough study of the political theory of this period with a good bibliography. Lectures in Government 6, 1923-1924.

LASKI, H. J. *Historical Introduction to the Defence of Liberty* (vindicios.) G. Bell & Sons, London, 1921. *Foundations of Sovereignty and other Essays* (see Just and Eastman) Harcourt, Brace & Co., N. Y., 1921.

MERRIMAN, R. B. *Some Notes on the Treatment of the English Catholics* in the American Historical Review, Vol. XIII, No. 3, Apr. 1908.

MEYER, ARNOLD OSKAR. *England and the Catholic Church under Queen Elizabeth.* Trans. by Rev. J. R. McKee (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., London, 1916; B. Herder & Co., St. Louis.) A scholarly work which impartially sets forth the struggle of Catholicism under Elizabeth. Written by a German Protestant Professor and translated by an English Catholic Priest.

The Month. The articles in *The Month* contain much material elsewhere unavailable. Especially see volumes for 1902-1903.

MOORE, W. HARRISON. *Act of State in English Laws.* (E. P. Dutton & Co., N. Y., 1906.)

NICOLINI, GIOVANNI BATTISTA. *History of the Jesuits,* (C. Bell & Sons, London, 1879.)

PIERCE, WILLIAM. *An Historical Introduction to the Marprellate Tracts.* (E. P. Dutton & Co., N. Y., 1909.)

POLLEN, JOHN H. *The English Catholics in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.* (Longmans Green & Co., N. Y., 1920.) A fine account from the Catholic standpoint. *The Institution of the Archpriest Blackwel.* (Longmans Green & Co., N. Y., 1916.) Articles in *The Month,* esp. 1901-1903.

POLLARD, A. F. *Factors in Modern History.* (Putnams Sons, N. Y., 1907.)

SEATON, ALEXANDER ADAM. *The Theory of Toleration.* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1911.)

SEDGWICK, HENRY DWIGHT. *Ignatius Loyola.* (The Macmillan Co., 1925.)

SIMPSON, R. *Edmund Campion.* (Williams, Norgate, London, 1867). An older account of the missionary period.

TAUNTON, ETHELRED L. *History of the Jesuits in England.* (Lippincott, N. Y., Methuen, London, 1901.) Painstaking but extremely prejudiced. Deductions are based often upon inadequate material. Unsympathetic and rather melodramatic.

THOMPSON, RICHARD W. *The Papacy and the Civil Power.* (Harper, N. Y., 1876.)

TIERNEY, REV. M. A. *Dodd's Church History of England*, 1500-1688, continued by Rev M. A. Tierney. (5 vol. London, 1839-1843.) Canon Tierney's careful edition furnishes a rich source book for this period. He reprints many documents of great significance in his copious appendices. His footnotes correct and expand the old text.

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RURAL ENVIRONMENT AS A BACKGROUND FOR RELIGION*

The word "background" suggests to the mind the language of painting. The expression does not mean as much to-day as it did when the skilled hand of the artist first began to revel in illustrating the mysteries of our Faith with the magic of brush and palette. If you study the old Italian religious masters of art, you see how dearly they loved the background. In front was the Holy Family, the Angels and Saints, the events of the Life of Christ: but behind these sacred figures were spread high and far the familiar villages, mountains, rivers and bridges, domestic and sometimes half-comic scenes in which the daily life of those who were called upon to consider those mysteries occurred. Hence the rural environment of the Catholic life of that time was looked upon as a natural background for visual religious teaching. From this union of the sacred representation with the profane background of daily life came a wonderful unity in this picturing of the faith: a vividness and homeliness to the scene, which however instead of lessening the grandeur of the sacred figures, seems to heighten it, and to give life, actuality, meaning, to a picture which would otherwise appear remote from our daily surroundings. How natural, how close to our daily joys and sorrows, seemed thus the home-life of Nazareth!

How different is the spirit of such a painting from the spirit of the Byzantine eikon! The one is like a symbol, rich and splendid, but cold and remote: the other, like a bit of heaven brought upon our homely and solid earth.

Is our own rural background, the actual environment of our Catholic people here in Maryland, favorable to the success of our religious teaching? Shall we say to our young people: leave the country, seek the more suitable surroundings of Baltimore and Washington, if you wish to learn your faith and practice it: or shall we find inspiration and help for them and for ourselves, as priests and religious teachers, in the environment in which God has placed them? In this paper, I shall try briefly to answer this question.

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*Paper read at the Second Rural Life Conference of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, October 27, 1926.

The development, the normal existence, as well as the finest flowering of Catholic life is in the home. The Church is the Church of the home; the guardian of the home; the custodian of all those institutions, human and divine, which enter into the idea of the Christian home. Rural life, however, is preëminently the life of the home. The home in its fullest sense, in all its beauty and efficacy, does not *per se* attain its end in the restrictions of urban life. Moreover, the country home is the fountainhead of Catholic social life, as well as of our Catholic population. It is the source, which if once poisoned, or allowed to dry up, will mean the poisoning and drying-up of all our Catholic life, urban as well as rural. Great as our city parishes are, high as is their development in many respects, the plain truth is that their life has originated in the country homes of this and the neighboring states, unless, of course, it has taken its rise in the deep and fervent rural home life of foreign countries.

Yet in spite of this fact, in spite of the lessons of every country and of every age, there is no portion of the Church in this country more neglected than the country home. To reach those country homes in person, or by the process of religious instruction, to live among them and for them, is looked upon as a penance: to try to build them up is looked upon as a fad, an anomaly. The consequence is appalling. That attitude among our clergy in the United States has brought about the condition that with fifty per cent of the American people living in rural homes, only ten per cent of our Catholic clergy are engaged in any kind of rural work. It has brought about the fact that whole counties and large numbers of city districts in the United States are populated by the non-Catholic offspring of devout Catholic ancestors, who to-day would be in the Church had Christ not been suffered to vanish from those homes.

At the present time, thanks to the enlightenment and zeal of our beloved Archbishop, of many of our leading clergymen and our religious Superiors, and many zealous laymen and laywomen, an earnest attempt is being made in the Archdiocese of Baltimore to correct this evil, by devoting special attention to the question of religious education in the country districts.

In order however that this program of religious education, whether through our Catholic school or through special catechet-

ical undertakings, should attain its full effectiveness, it seems to me that certain things are necessary.

In the first place, our religious teaching should be based on knowledge of the rural home environment, and should be adapted to that environment.

It is not enough to know the rural environment in general. In order to influence the minds and hearts of our children and people as we should, we need a precise and accurate knowledge of every condition of their lives. We need to know the home conditions of every child in school: not merely where it lives, but the religious teacher should know the conditions of nutrition and health under which that child lives, what opportunities it has for study and recreation, what influences its parents and relatives bring to bear upon it, how they make a living, what prospects that child has for making a living after it leaves school, etc. One should know what elements in the pupil's life appeal to its nobler instincts, its ambition, etc. This means a careful survey of the whole community. It means home visiting, planned questioning of both children and parents, all of which demand special training on the part of the rural religious teacher. Without such special training effort is wasted, and essential facts are overlooked, incidentals overstressed.

One point of well-nigh infinite importance is the right valuation of the parents' function in the child's home life. What interest do its parents take in it? What help in its religious instruction can be expected from them? What aid must be given to them to that end?

Once however we have learned to know the environment, the next task is to adapt the teaching to the environment. This does not mean simply talking down to the children. It means also carefully planned and motivated training in those elements of the Christian life which are peculiarly demanded by the known conditions of the pupil's rural environment. There are certain things so vital to country religious life, so necessary to strengthen it against its peculiar enemies, that I believe special emphasis must be laid upon them. The following three points appear to me particularly essential.

They need to be effectively taught those principles of Catholic faith and practice which are especially necessary in dealing inti-

mately with those who are not of our fold. They should be taught how to account readily for their Faith, in a positive, fearless manner. They need special instruction in those things which concern coöperation with non-Catholics, or which are apt to lead up to mixed marriages. Many of our religious teachers have passed their lives in sheltered, thoroughly Catholic surroundings. It is from these that the greatest number of our vocations come. They have never dealt first-hand with non-Catholics. Hence I believe they should, in their preparation for rural work, have some special training in just these matters, that their pupils may not be of a type not infrequently seen, who are thoroughly drilled in their catechism, yet are silent as oysters in the presence of the first scoffer against the Faith, or drop off at the first hint that their religion involves some real sacrifices.

A second element that demands emphasis in the training of the rural Catholic is that of character. True, all men in all places need such training. But our rural life has in many places become so weakened through migration of the stronger, more determined element to the cities, that anyone who has worked among our otherwise devout and high-minded and lovable country people, is distressed by a certain flimsiness of character under any unusual strain, any real test of loyalty. Country politics have bred a spirit of expediency, leadership is distrusted on the one hand and shirked on the other, constructive projects fail, gossip is devastating, and parents fear to make even moderate sacrifices for their children's welfare.

Lastly, there is a peculiar need of affording a concrete Ideal to our people. Living in non-Catholic contacts as they frequently are, judged as is their home life above all things, I believe that in the country especially one should teach the sublime ideal of the Holy Family of Nazareth.

Here is the most tangible, the most attractive contribution of Catholicism to our American country life. Read the sketches of American rural and village life as painted by our recent sophisticates. You are confronted by the emptiness of the hearts and lives of men and women who have solved the mere economic problems of the country. They are rich, educated, prosperous, they have churches in full swing, social works, clubs, etc. But their hearts are dry as dust, and starving for their God. What is

lacking? The supernatural. They and their religious teachers have pushed the effort of the natural man to the uttermost limit in education, morals, enterprise, etc. But the supernatural, that immediate link between man and the infinite God who alone can satisfy us, for whom we crave with our whole nature, is missing. For us the supernatural is brought home, into our homes by the Holy Family of Nazareth.

In the study and imitation of that Family, we find a tangible ideal for a workaday life. Moreover, we find in it the exemplification of two things peculiarly needed for country conditions. One is the highest ideal of matrimonial life: the true Catholic marriage and the home it establishes. Hence the most effective spiritual remedy against the hankering for mixed marriages. Secondly, in the Mystery of the Temple, we introduce the pupil to the lofty ideal of the Divine Counsels, and so lay the seed for the consideration of the great question of religious and priestly vocations.

To sum up then: our knowledge of the conditions of the rural home will lead us to adapt to it our religious teaching, and will cause us also to emphasize the three points most needed in the life of the country youth: ready defense of the Faith; solidity of character, and the ideal of the Holy Family of Nazareth.

In all that we have said however we have taken the rural environment itself for granted. There is however another question: Can we change the environment itself? Using our Catholic principles as a guide, can we so alter the conditions of life in the country, as to enable our people better to carry out the teachings which we are endeavoring to give them, especially those that apply to home life?

To undertake such a work demands considerable magnanimity—great-heartedness and great-mindedness—on the part of our religious teachers. It demands a conception of our work somewhat different from that to which we have become accustomed in more favored localities. One has to look on one's work then not much as a function to be performed according to perfectly well-defined prescriptions, but as a situation to be dealt with, a situation which needs careful diagnosis, and study of cause and effect.

To illustrate my meaning, let me recall some thoughts that came to me last Friday evening, as I visited Nazareth, Kentucky, the Mother House of the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth, which shares the honor with Loretto, Kentucky, of being the first entirely American religious foundation, and is now over one hundred years old. There in the moonlight, vistaed through the huge trees, stood the statues of Bishop David and Mother Catherine Spalding.

When Mother Catherine Spalding, with a long line of cultured Maryland ancestry in her make-up, built her little log house there in the wilds of Nelson County, her actual sphere of work doubtless seemed very small: just to teach a few girls the simplest facts of letters and daily conduct. But, unlike so many of us when we first see a country mission, she looked beyond the limited function that she was then and there exercising, and saw the whole of the actual situation that her one-time Maryland people were now involved in. She saw the future and the possibilities. She saw that those few girls whom she was physically able to reach would become the mothers of a new Western race: a race that was not only to populate Kentucky with Catholicism, but to spread it to Ohio, Arkansas, Missouri, Tennessee, Illinois, and even to far-off Colorado. She was to form, by her obscure and humble efforts, the parent homes of a new world.

But not in that environment, unless the environment itself were changed for the better. Hence she set about, as a religious teacher, to improve at once the home life of those girls, so that her lessons could be realized and applied.

Her objective was Nazareth, but she saw that the Nazareth ideal could not be realized in her pupils' lives unless the elements alien to Nazareth were removed by positive, practical instruction in some of the arts of life.

Turning then from Mother Catherine to the present day, see what the religious teacher has to face in the rural districts. You have girls with no aim in life after they leave school. They stay home and vegetate; flit about idly, or drift off to the city in search of jobs. You have boys disgusted with a community from which all young life has been drained away; boys hindered by the selfishness sometimes of their own parents from the very projects and responsibilities which would give them a love for their own

homes. There is wasteful expenditure: buying not what they need, but what the scheming salesman puts into their imaginations. There is lack of family coöperation. Young lads lose their education because of the indifference of older brothers. Unsanitary habits of life, especially of nutrition, hinder physical welfare. Simple facts of hygiene are often ignored. There is neglect of the physical surroundings of life; no garden, canned goods bought for what they could raise themselves, etc. You find our Maryland people purchasing Wisconsin butter at the grocery store. You see green vegetables brought at high cost per truck 140 miles from Baltimore to the end of Saint Mary's County to be peddled to farmers' families that have acres of half-used land at their very doors. You have debts contracted needlessly, mortgages on everything from the house to the chicken-hovel, etc., and so on. Then from this comes the vicious circle: churches and schools beg for support, and have to look to charity; and the very things that could lift the people up are themselves helpless and hampered by the conditions in which they function.

Let me then ask you frankly: can a home be a Nazareth; can it show the virtues of Jesus, Mary and Joseph, if such conditions prevail? If in that home there is no aim in life for the young, no economy, nothing but waste, unhealthy habits, debt, involvement, neglect of surroundings and lack of practical family unity, of coöperation with neighbors for the common good? Not that these conditions are found everywhere: thank God, they are not. But that they are found anywhere in any of the homes that we are trying to reach is sufficient reason to ask this question.

These evils are negative, not positive. They do not come from malice or passion. They come from sheer lack of being *shown how*. The remedy for them has been taught in countless other localities. It has been taught in our own locality. There is no reason why it should not be taught everywhere, and by all who are competent to teach. Those boys and girls that have no immediate aim in life can be given an immediate aim. They can be interested in projects based upon home opportunities. The public schools achieve this in many localities, e. g. through the powerful agency of boys' and girls' agricultural clubs. These people can be taught how to spend wisely and how

to save. They can be shown the foolishness of paying $2,700 for a high-grade car, when water has to be hauled from a dilapidated well, and plaster is peeling from the ceiling. I recall an instance in my own experience where the expenditure of a dollar or two on printing business cards, the sale to a boy of a few egg-crates, enabled the lad to set up a regular parcel-post poultry business, with which he has been in a position to lay the foundations for a future home of his own. Simple facts of health and child-welfare can be taught. The need of coöperation with public agencies, and the opportunities offered by the Maryland Tobacco Growers' Association can be emphasized. Pride in homes, in farms, in stock, in schools, church and community can be created as a result.

Why then do we hang back? Partly from timidity. It takes courage to get to work and try to change things. Chiefly, however, we hesitate from lack of study and training. To attempt to improve matters recklessly, without due estimate of precautions and sensibilities, is often dangerous, and always ineffective. Besides the study of actual conditions, there is the study of approved methods, methods which even if they have been demonstrated in this country largely by non-Catholics, are nevertheless based on Catholic principles, and are in wide use in Catholic countries.

Such training is available if we know where to look for it, and can be obtained at little cost, and with great willingness on the part of those who are ready to communicate to us the fruits of their experience. I believe it is the time for our younger clergy and for our sisters to study the methods that have already proved successful in other localities, but similar conditions, as a preparation for their work in the country. Rural work needs systematic training in methods and objectives just as any other field of apostolic work, just as does nursing, the teaching profession as such, etc. We have only just begun to realize the need of such training with regard to the foreign missions. We have not yet begun to realize the need of it for similar reasons, for our own domestic enterprises. Then, when our priests and sisters go to the country, and survey in person the actual conditions, they will have a basis of action, they will have something definite to work for, and methods to cope with conditions. This presupposes,

however, that ample provision is made for such activity on their parts by those who direct their work, establish their curricula, etc.

If others without our high yet concrete religious ideals can achieve so much toward establishing the normal conditions of the home, how much more we, who have always before us the perfect ideal of the Holy House of Nazareth?

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FRANCISCANA

THE LITTLE POOR MAN

Plato reports Socrates as saying that astonishment is an emotion worthy of the philosopher, because it marks the first stage of speculation. Aristotle contends that men have at all times proceeded from astonishment to philosophy. In matter of fact, nothing truly scientific is undertaken except on the spur of surprise and wonderment at some unexpected marvel. The scholar begins by marvelling at some strange object that baffles explanation; by and by he is completely taken up with the mystery, and finally determines to examine it from all sides, to scrutinize it, to fathom it in all its bearings. This is scientific research in its perfect form, carried out independently of utilitarian advantages.

I

May we not say that the modern cult of St. Francis may form the subject of scientific inquiry? Is it not just cause for wonderment to find our modern world taking so deep and vital an interest in the Poverello who seven hundred years ago trampled under foot all that the modern man holds dear, and became an outcast for Christ? Is it not matter for surprise to find the Little Poor Man the hero of a play on Broadway, to have lecturers selecting the Poverello as their theme when addressing their fashionably gowned audiences, and to have Protestant preachers delivering whole series of sermons on the Umbrian Saint? How shall we explain the fact that the three best "Lives" we have of the Saint to-day have been brought out by non-Catholic publishers, that "Everyman's Library" has three numbers dealing with St. Francis, that the Salvation Army has spread abroad thousands of copies of its "Life of St. Francis," that Protestant missionaries in Japan have translated the writings of the Saint as well as other Franciscan literature and distributed them among the natives? Dr. Ulrich Peters, a German writer, has brought out a book on St. Francis to be used in Protestant Sunday Schools. Harnack, Sabatier, Thode—men far remote from the Catholic ideal of life—worship at the shrine of the Saint. Henry Thode hails St. Francis as the harbinger of a new world, and Paul Sabatier is the President of the British Society of Franciscan Studies. But it is not only scholars, but painters, poets, and musicians as well who are revelling in the spirit of St. Francis. Milliners in Paris have commercialized the enthusiasm for St. Francis by making little birds for women's hats which they call "Oisseaux à la St. François."

It is true that many of these people misunderstand St. Francis. Some hail the Little Poor Man as having led the way for the Protestant revolt against the priesthood and the hierarchy of the Church. These interpreters of the Saint overlook the deep reverence that inspired Francis for all of Mother Church and for her priesthood in particular. In his "Testament" he writes:

> The Lord gave me, and gives me still, such faith in priests who live after the manner of the Holy Roman Church, on account of their orders, that if they persecuted me I would still have recourse to them. And if I

> had the wisdom of Solomon, and found priests poor and ignorant according to the world, I would not preach in their parishes against their will. And these priests and all others I am resolved to hold in respect, love, and honor as my lords: and I will not consider any sin in them, because I behold in them the Son of God, and they are my lords. I act thus because in this world I see nothing corporally of the Most High Son of God, but His Most Holy Body and Blood, which they consecrate and receive, and which they alone administer to others.

In the quarrel with his father, Francis appealed to the Bishop of Assisi: "To the Bishop I will go, for he is the father and lord of souls." He preserved this reverence for the hierarchy throughout his life. As soon as he entered a city, he would first visit the Bishop. He made it a rule for himself and his brothers never to preach in any place without the Bishop's consent and approbation. In the twelfth chapter of his Rule he made provision for eternal loyalty to Mother Church:

> I command the Ministers by obedience that they petition Our Lord the Pope for one of the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, who shall be the governor, protector, and corrector of this Fraternity; so that, being always subject and submissive at the feet of the same Holy Roman Church, and steadfast in the Catholic Faith, we may observe Poverty and Humility and the Holy Gospel of Our Lord Jesus Christ, as we have faithfully promised.

Hence we realize how gross an error it is to regard the most Catholic Francis as a forerunner of the Protestant Revolt.

Others venerate the Saint because of his love for nature. They contend that the early Middle Ages had no eye for the beauties of nature, and that Francis merely led the way for the appreciation of nature which is alleged to have been the fine flower of Renaissance culture. It is a fact that long before Dante, Boccacio and Plutarch penned their immortal verses, Francis had walked through nature, transported with ecstatic joy over the charming scene of hill and dale, of the flower and the bird. He possessed all the qualities of the thoughtful observer and sensitive friend of nature: the innocent eye of a child, the lively fancy and the heightened sensibility of a poet, and the joyful, loving, godly heart of a saint. Yet Francis' love for nature was not mere sentiment, but was part of his religion. His interest in nature was a stepping stone to higher things: he passed from the Creator to the creature, from the creature to the Creator. Hence we cannot associate St. Francis with modern naturalism, or with the worship of the body or of nature for its own sake.

Again, there are those who see in St. Francis traits that would aline him with modern socialism and communism. They point to his reform of conditions existing at his time and his insistence on further radical social changes. But this group, too, fails to consider that while St. Francis' insistence on a change may have been prompted by economic reasons, it was largely based on supernatural grounds. An academic theory was less powerful with St. Francis than

the example of Christ. The example of the Son of Man who during his life had not where to lay His head, and Who in His dying hour was nailed to the wood of the cross, this it was that induced the son of the rich cloth merchant, Pietro Bernardone, to give up all his wealth in order to become in his own person as like as possible to Him who was reputed the carpenter's son.

Others, finally, regard St. Francis as the herald of a common humanity and an all-embracing brotherliness. They regard him as the apostle of cosmopolitanism. Yet this, too, is a superficial view since it leaves out of account that it was only on religious grounds that Francis practiced and preached brotherliness. That religion is the basis of his brotherliness is brought out strikingly in the sixth chapter of his Rule where he exhorts the Friars:

> Wherever any of the Friars may be and shall meet other Friars, let them all treat each other as members of one family, and confidently make known to each other their needs; for if a mother loves and cherishes her son according to the flesh, how much more diligently ought everyone to cherish and love him who is his brother according to the spirit.

The Providence of God, directing the Friars to the common life, was the ultimate basis for Francis' love for his brethren. A kindred reason prompted those manifestations of Francis' brotherliness which would be considered *outré* by some social workers of the present day. The more abject the poor wretch, the more deserving did he seem, in Francis' eyes, of the finest affection. In his heart, as an old chronicler puts it, the whole world found refuge, the poor, the sick, and the fallen being the objects of his solicitude in a more special manner. Other saints have seemed entirely dead to the world around them, but Francis was in sympathy with everything and everyone around him. Francis' devotedness in consoling the afflicted made him so condescending that he shrank not from the lepers in their loathly huts and from eating with them out of the same platter. But above all it is his dealings with the erring that reveal the truly Christian spirit of his charity. "Saintlier than any of the saints," writes one of his biographers, "among sinners he was as one of themselves."

We might continue in this way to examine what it is in St. Francis that has caught the fancy of the world. We should thus be repeating that question some one once asked St. Francis: "Why is it that all the world comes after thee, and everyone desires to see thee, to hear thee and to obey thee? Thou art not a man either comely of person, or of noble birth, or of science, whence comes it then that all the world runs after thee?" But many err in their attempts to answer the question for their admiration of the Saint is based on a misunderstanding of his personality.

II

To get at the secret of St. Francis' appeal, we must get at his spirit. The spirit of St. Francis is pre-eminently the spirit of the Seraphim. The love of God is the most characteristic trait of the Saint. It is basic for all his other qualities. As all true love seeks to identify itself with the object of its affection, so St. Francis' love of God seeks to be identified with the personality of Christ

as brought out in the Gospel. The several virtues of St. Francis are attempts to express in his own life the virtues of Christ.

St. Francis' love of God is no cold element. His Provençal mother and his Umbrian father had given St. Francis an ardent soul, and he threw all his heart into the love of his Savior. His love knows no bounds, but is radical and heroic in the consistent striving to realize his ideal. His ideal is Christ, and therefore his practice of virtue is not an end in itself, but is merely a means to approximate as far as possible Christ Himself. All his virtues are only an expression of His love for Christ, and are so many attempts to identify himself with Christ.

Hence the Saint proceeds to establish his life upon the basis of the absolute renunciation of all earthly goods in imitation of Him who came unto His own and Whose own received Him not. Christ obedient unto the death of the cross, reappears in St. Francis as the lowliest servant of all. Christ the Virgin incites Francis to beware of even the last shadow of suspicion. The suffering Christ drives him to seek martyrdom, and this urge is realized in another form by the miracle of the stigmata on Al Verna. Christ, sinless Himself, but loaded down with the guilt of humanity, makes the Saint a penitent for all humanity. Christ lives mysteriously in every man, and therefore Francis becomes the brother of all men. And because the picture of the suffering Christ is most clearly expressed in the poor, the sick, and the wretched of all kind, Francis loves these poor brothers of his most tenderly and most passionately. Consequently the most characteristic virtue of the Saint is not poverty, or humility, or simplicity, but love of Christ, and it is this love that is responsible for all the virtues that we admire in the Saint.

Here we have the reason why St. Francis appeals so strongly to the modern world. St. Francis has striven with all his soul to identify himself with Christ, and hence it is that he has so important a message for our day. He is most modern, indeed, because there is so vital a contact between him and our age. Our age is hungry for the salvation that can come only by restoring all things in Christ, and it is the life and doctrine of St. Francis that make the life and doctrine of Christ tangible and real. The deepest reason therefore for the appeal of the Poverello to modern men and women is the fact that he offers us the way and the means for returning to Christ.

The limitations of space will not allow us to show how this appeal could be made effective in every regard, but we shall attempt to show what the adoption of the principles of St. Francis would mean with regard to social reform. We all agree that social reform is one of the most urgent problems in the world today. We need waste no words to paint the picture of the discontent prevailing the world over, and prevailing most ominously in our civilized countries. It would be unfair to deny that much has been done to solve the problem. Great efforts have been made to provide a remedy, but capital and labor are still engaged in bitter warfare—the great strike in England was a sign of the times—and in our own country there is material a-plenty to start overnight a national conflagration.

Now what solution has St. Francis of Assisi to offer? The same solution as he offered in the Middle Ages when he was confronted with the task of furnishing the means:

1) To break the domination of the lords and nobles;
2) To safeguard the rights of the serfs and the poor;
3) To counteract the extravagance and luxury of the merchant class who had grown rich overnight;
4) To effect the general reconciliation of man to man, of class to class:
5) To instill the fear of God and respect for authority, law, and order.

In dealing with this situation, St. Francis did not offer an armchair philosophy. He and his Friars did not preach the gospel of social reform from pulpits and platforms; but dwelt in the midst of the masses, and grappled with the evils that were afflicting the race. They practiced simplicity and poverty, cheerfulness and charity, peace and penance in the midst of the people, and taught their fellowmen by example how to return to the observance of the Gospel and thereby save humanity from ruin.

St. Francis, however, did not rest satisfied with the power of example, but offered the means to the masses for satisfying their craving for the better things and the higher life. When St. Francis extended his Order to include men and women living in the world, that is, when he established his Third Order, he created a hostile camp in the midst of the evils of the world. In opposition to the hatreds, injustices, and extravagances of the time we find this army of men and women animated with the spirit of Christian brotherhood and simplicity. The Third Order had a real mission to perform. It was to awaken the consciousness and the conscience of the people to the evils of the times and to instill into them the desire and the determination to effect a cure first in themselves and then, by example, in others.

The means of social reform which St. Francis applied through his Third Order were very simple, but also very radical; for they struck at the very roots of the evils. The lords exacted from the serfs, as from their vassals, the oath of fealty and the performance of military service. In this way the majority of the people were the mere pawns of the nobility, and the condition led unavoidably to tyranny and injustice. The feudal lord would demand the service of the serf, his vassal, in pursuit of any feud, however unjust, and according to the system of the time, the vassal had no right to refuse. St. Francis, through his Third Order, imposed upon Tertiaries the obligation to take no oath whatever, except in certain specified cases, and he forbade them to bear arms, except in defence of the Church. He thereby dealt the deathblow to the feudal system: by his Third Order pledge he released the serf from the domination of the lord. Petty tyrants opposed the spread of the Third Order, but failed to stop its progress. The Third Order Rule was the declaration of independence for the oppressed lower classes. The consciousness and the conscience of the masses had been awakened. The question was no longer one of politics, but became one of religion. By the prohibition to carry arms, St. Francis took away the tool of feuds, of warfare and bloodshed.

Students of medieval history will recall that if the serf refused to render service to his lord and master, or if he died intestate, his property and possessions reverted to the lord, who held them in trust. Thus it happened that the lords became such extensive landowners. St. Francis commanded the members of the Third Order to make a will in the days of health and thus taught them to safeguard what little possessions they had. In this way he broke the domination of the lords and also inculcated a practical lesson in economics, and hence he conferred, through the Third Order, upon the serf and the poor the social and political rights of citizenship.

The Rule of the Third Order accomplished still more. It not only attacked the feudal system, the domination of the lords, their abuse of power, their feuds and bloodshed, and thereby restored the serfs and the poor to the condition of citizens with social and political rights; but it also opposed the extravagance and luxury, the dissipations and excesses of the merchants who constituted the *nouveau riche* class of the times, and who were the forerunners of our present-day captains of industry. St. Francis charged his tertiaries to live frugally, not to dress beyond their station in life, to avoid dissipations and excesses of all kinds, and to shun improper amusements. The money thus saved was devoted to the poor. It is not difficult to imagine the change wrought in society by an army of men and women who pledged themselves to observe the law of moderation in all things, and who determined to put worldliness out of their own lives and, by example, out of the lives of others.

In order to effect a general reconciliation of all classes, St. Francis, through his Third Order, inculcated the lesson of universal brotherhood and of Christian charity. He charged Tertiaries to have charity towards all men. He taught them by the Rule of the Third Order that all men are children of one God, the All-Father, and brothers of one Savior, Jesus Christ; that on the one hand the great and the rich must not oppose their weaker and less fortunate brother, but must show sympathy and charity for the poor and the helpless; and that the serf and the poor on their part must not be envious, covetous, distrustful, hateful of their more fortunate neighbor, but must remember that true happiness is not in riches, but in a God-fearing life. The Third Order recruited its members from all sides. The lord and the serf, the prince and the peasant, the rich and the poor, the mighty and the lowly, the ecclesiastic and the layman, the husband and the wife, the parent and the child, the married and the unmarried—all were invited to accept its ideal and to live by its Rule. Little wonder that a contemporary writer said that it seemed as though the days of the first Christians had returned, when "the multitude of believers had but one heart and one soul" (Acts IV, 32).

St. Francis united all in the one class of penitents for he clothed the Tertiaries with the garb of penance, girded them with the cincture of continency, and prescribed for them certain prayers and practices of penance and self-denial. By reducing men and women to their humble state of penitents, he took the conceit out of them and taught them to fear God and keep His law. Respect for authority, for law and order went hand in hand with the fear of God

and the practice of self-control—all being symbolized by the ever-present garb and cincture of the Tertiary.

It is evident, as a Franciscan writer puts it, that the social reform effected by the Third Order was a religious reform since it penetrated the conscience and heart of men and women, as every true reform must do. It was a comprehensive and universal reform for it reached out to heal all ills and to regenerate all classes. It was a conservative reform, since it did not set class against class, and man against man, or aim at the overthrow of authority. It was none the less a radical reform, since it tore up the social evils by their very roots. It was first and foremost a reform of the individual, and through the reform of the individual it wrought the reform of society. It was a decisive reform since it awakened the consciousness and the conscience of all to the evils of the times and inspired all with the desire and the determination to be freed from these evils.

IV

What the Third Order has done in the past, it can and should do at the present time. The Supreme Pontiffs have inculcated this repeatedly for the past fifty years, and none more emphatically than Pope Leo XIII, who adapted the Rule of the Tertiaries to the needs of our day, and who declared: "My social reform is the Third Order."

The Third Order, in order to effect the cure of the ills of the twentieth century, must carry out the following program:

1) It must reform the individual; for this is the basis of all true social reform;
2) It must sanctify the family since the family is the unit of human society;
3) It must control the pleasure instinct of human beings for this is the indispensible condition of social reform;
4) It must regulate the relations between superiors and subjects, employers and employees, the mighty and the lowly, as this is the blessing of social reform;
5) It must disengage the human heart from the worship of human goods, "for covetousness is the root of all evils" (I Tim., VI, 10), and covetousness has created the need for social reform;
6) It must lead the soul back to God without Whom there can be no social reform.

It is a truism that a reform of human society is unthinkable without a reform of the individual. No chain is stronger than its weakest link. But the Third Order furnishes the conditions for a thorough reform of the individual. At the time of his reception into the Third Order, the Tertiary is bid to be divested "of the old man with his acts and to turn away his heart from the pomps of the world," and to be clothed "with the new man who, according to God, is created in justice and holiness of truth." He is urged to be "dead to the world" and "to live to God, shunning the works of darkness." At the time of his pro-

fession he pledges himself "to observe, all the time of his life, the commandments of God and the Rule of the Third Order."

The Tertiary is instructed to lead the "regular" life—the life by Rule—which obliges him, upon his word of honor, to be prayerful, honest, industrious, charitable, just, temperate, self-restrained, God-fearing. The virtues necessary for the welfare and the happiness of society are: self-control, justice, equity, charity, industry, godliness, and neighborliness. It is evident that the Third Order by its Rule obliges the Tertiary to practise the very virtues necessary for the welfore and the happiness of human society.

The Rule of the Third Order urges the Tertiary to kneel at the foot of the altar, daily if he can, for the divine sacrifice, to take an inventory of himself every night by an examination of conscience, and to clean and to strengthen his soul at least every month by a worthy reception of the Sacraments of Penance the Holy Eucharist. A body of men and women who live the Tertiary life, will create a class consciousness for the good, "instructing us that, denying ungodliness and worldly desires, we should live soberly and justly and godly in this world" (Titus, II, 12).

Again, it is obvious enough that a lasting reform is impossible without a reform of the family. The family is the parent-cell of human society. But alas! we all are painfully aware how urgent is the need for a reform of the family. The family of the twentieth century needs regeneration, and the home needs a moral house-cleaning. Here, too, the Rule of the Third Order offers the means for the reform:

> "In their home let them (the Tertiaries) study to lead others by their good example, to promote practices of piety and all that is good. Let them not allow any books or papers, from which any injury can be feared, to be brought into their houses, or read by those under their care. . . . They will refrain with the utmost caution from dangerous stage-plays and dances, and they will neither sit down to table nor rise from it without first devoutly and gratefully invoking God. . . . Let them sedulously exercise kindness and charity among themselves and towards their neighbors, and whenever they can do so, they should strive to settle quarrels. Let them never take an oath, except in case of necessity. Let them never use indecent language nor utter vulgar jokes. Let them examine their conscience every night as to whether they have perchance done anything of the kind; if they have, let them do penance for their fault."

Let these few rules be observed in the home, and our family life would be transformed, and the shining example would radiate a most salutary influence.

With regard to the pleasure instinct implanted in man for the wisest of ends, we again have plentiful evidence of the havoc wrought by permitting it to get beyond control. And the cure? There is only one: "They that are Christ's have crucified their flesh, with its vices and concupiscences" (Gal. V, 24). On this score the Rule of the Third Order is definite without being puritanical. It acts on the principle that no man can be made moral by legislation, and that morality is a matter, not of statute, but of training. The Third Order prescribes the

training by means of which the pleasure instinct will be kept moral when it ordains that the members shall observe—each according to his state in life—the rule of moderation, and then proceeds to lay down the rules quoted above on the subject of eating and drinking, plays and dances, books and reading.

We have referred above to another cankerous sore afflicting the human race, namely, the conflict of the classes and the masses, of capital and labor, of the rich and the poor, of the governing and the governed. A Franciscan writer has recently brought out the fact that this conflict shows itself in hysterical legislation and open lawlessness, in the clash of capitalism and unionism, in the reactionary conservatism of some and the rank radicalism of others, in the extravagant domination of the rich and the morbid resentment of the poor, in the self-confessed helplessness of the parent or superior and the defiant unrestraint of the child or subject. The cure for this condition does not lie merely in the declaration of rights, in the specifications of justice, but rather and especially in the promulgation of charity. The clamoring for rights and the setting forth of "just" claims is partly the cause for the friction. But charity can reconcile and regulate the conflicting elements.

The Third Order is the Order of penance and charity; peace and harmony are its passwords. Tertiaries, we read in the Rule, must be "of a peaceable disposition" and shall "exercise charity and kindness among themselves and toward others" and "whenever they can do so," they shall "take care to settle quarrels." "They shall contribute, each according to his means, to a common fund, from which the poorer members of the association may be relieved, especially in case of sickness." Towards the latter they shall "perform the offices of charity." "At the funeral of a deceased member, the resident and visiting members should assemble and say a third part of the rosary for the heavenly comfort of the dead person, and should pray, after the reception of the Holy Eucharist, for the eternal rest of their deceased brother."

The spirit which breathes forth from the Rule of the Third Order, is the spirit of fraternity and charity. The members of the Third Order are the "Brothers and Sisters of Penance and Charity."

"Covetousness is the root of all evils," and the greed of worldly goods is responsible for the evils of both capitalism and radicalism. Both are children of one mother, covetousness, which is the inordinate desire of earthly possessions. It is covetousness that has created through artificial industrial speculation the yawning gulf of inequality between man and man. Covetous men have cornered the earth's supplies of food, clothing, fuel, lumber, and have placed these things in the hands of the few. They have criminally destroyed the fruits of the earth or refused to ship them to market—playing the game of price-fixing—and have so kept up the price of the necessaries of life. By their cunning dishonesty and shrewd selfishness they have monopolized wealth.

But the same covetousness has given birth to the radicalism represented by the brood of I. W. W., bolshevists, professional agitators, wild-eyed and money-hungry trouble-makers, communists and anarchists.

Has the Third Order a solution to offer? Can it cure the greed of the classes and the masses? Tertiaries, "once their number and their enterprise have gener-

ally increased" (Pope Benedict XV, *Sacra Propediem*, Jan. 6, 1921), by their spirit of poverty, by their detachment from earthly things, will be the advance legion of a Christian democracy, in which every man is a man, and no one must be a slave or a tool, and no one may be a god or a tyrant.

Tertiaries by their spirit of poverty and their gospel of fraternity and charity hold up to both the classes and the masses the sound principles of democracy, the gospel of detachment, the code of justice promulgated by Pope Leo XIII (*Quod apostolici muneris*, Dec. 28, 1878): "All men are equal before God, our Father, Jesus Christ, our Savior, and Holy Mother Church; by necessity they must be unequal in talents, manners, personal appearance, education, opportunity, heredity, social standing and success; there must be rulers and subjects, masters, and servants, employers and employees, rich and poor, learned and unlearned, nobles and plebeians." Let this conviction spread abroad, and it will put an end to business feuds, money conflicts, the discontent with one's poverty and the swagger with one's riches.

The Third Order, being "the Gospel applied to everyday life," leads the soul back to God. The essential aim of St. Francis in founding the Third Order was to give to people living in the world the ways and means for striving more effectively after perfection. Everything else was secondary. The one thing necessary was to be the main object in life, and all other things would be added unto him who strove first and foremost after the Kingdom of God and His justice. But in providing the means for attaining perfection, the Saint not only leads the individual to repentance, but regenerates the family, makes of labor a duty and an honorable occupation, replaces oppression with justice, unites in the bonds of charity all who are separated and estranged, disgraces luxury and greed, and honors penance and poverty.

Is it then so strange that the world should be running after St. Francis since he is offering that which may heal so many of our ills? May we not expect in turn that the Little Poor Man, whom Pope Pius XI. calls the sweetest of saints, will bless our age for its devotion to him? May the Poverello bring the full light of God's truth to those non-Catholic followers of his who, like the Protestants of England and France who have organized their own Third Order of St. Francis, are trying in their own way to lead Franciscan lives. May he hear the prayer of those Protestants whose sentiments are expressed by one of their writers in the following way: "The life of St. Francis strikes me as a song whose text and melody makes me homesick for heaven. While listening to the sweet music I must fold my hands and pray to God to make my own life sweeter and more just and more pure."

But we American Catholics may not rest content with the mere prayer to become like the Seraphic Saint, but must bestir ourselves to be as active in his cause as we know the Catholics in other lands to be. During the present year when we are commemorating the seventh centenary of the death of St. Francis, a wave of new enthusiasm for the Poverello seems to be sweeping over the whole world. The Tertiaries of France, Switzerland, and Colombia have laid the foundations for majestic memorial churches of St. Francis. The Tertiaries of Germany and Austria, not having the means for anything elabor-

ate, are coming to the support of Franciscan Homes and Institutions. Florence is founding an institute of Franciscan studies, and the Royal University of Rome will have a chair for Franciscan history. Premier Mussolini declared October 4, 1926, a national holiday in Italy, and called upon all foreign representatives of the country to celebrate the day with becoming solemnity. The same government issued a series of Franciscan postal stamps.

The tomb of St. Francis at Assisi and the Sacro Convento are being completely remodeled, while the Portiuncola Basilica is being adorned with a new façade. Monuments are being erected in Rome, Milan, Naples, Monte Subasio, Santiago, and Louvain. Franciscan art exhibitions have been arranged in Rome, Munich, Innsbruck, Lille, and other cities. The famous oratorios of St. Francis by Hartmann von An der Lahn-Hochbrunn, O.F.M., Edgar Tinel, Pierné, are being added to by oratorios composed by Lucinio Refice (choirmaster of Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome), Herman Suter, and Leonardo Pacini. The German Franciscan Beda Kleinschmidt has published a monumental work in two volumes, *The Basilica of St. Francis in Assisi.* The Benedictine Pedro Subercaseaux has brought out his series of fifty exquisite water colors depicting the life of the Poverello, and the collection makes up what has rightly been called the most beautiful book of the year. The last-named achievement is not the only contribution made by our country to the celebration of the seventh centenary. The American Friars held a three days' meeting in July to deal with the subject of Franciscan spirituality and its lessons for themselves and the world at large. The American Tertiarie held a national convention in New York, Oct. 4th-6th, and thus did their part to bring about a national renaissance of the ideals of St. Francis.

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FRANCISCET FRANCISCUS!

Amongst the many indications of the happier ethos of our time may be accounted the tone and attitude of the Press as a whole in dealing with the seventh centenary of St. Francis. In this, the *Times*, with an ability and insight worthy of its high position, has led the way. In its issue of October 3, it devoted both a leading article and a comprehensive memoir to the life and work of St. Francis, and on September 30 these were preceded by a not less interesting article in its Literary Supplement.

The motive of the *Times* leading article can hardly be better expressed than in its own words, when it hails in the life of the saint "an event in the history of Latin Christendom to be celebrated on Monday with all the special devotion and solemnity proper to a festival that has been kept for seven hundred years."

It has been a matter of satisfaction to Catholics that for many years past there has been, both here and abroad, a revival of Franciscan studies, and a movement to make the work and spirit of St. Francis more widely known and appreciated. As this propaganda happily included many votaries outside Catholicism

it was perhaps to be expected that some in their love and admiration of St. Francis would idealize him into their own temperamental image and likeness, and even pay him the homage of clothing him with their own religious beliefs and sympathies. In this way, an extreme group has sought to capture the saint for its particular school of thought, and, to make him a home in the twentieth century, it has presented him as a blend of philanthropist and modernist and undenominationalist—one so absorbed in the love of Christ that he had learned to look lightly upon all such scaffoldings as creeds, sacraments, and official or institutional church authority. These visionaries seem to forget that in the soul of a Catholic—and especially of a Catholic saint—the love of Christ is indissolubly bound up with the love of the dogmatic truths which He is believed to be taught, and of the sacraments which He is believed to have instituted, and of the visible Church to which He is believed to have entrusted the administration of both these radiations of His light and life. Stripped of this love of what St. Francis revered as Christ's word and handiwork, their portrait is not that of a saint, and is, least of all, that of St. Francis.

The writer of the article in the *Times* has far too firm a grasp of the facts to be misled by such puerile travesties. In a few pregnant sentences he effectually closes the door upon them, and tells us that "full faith in all the tenets of the medieval Church is stamped upon his (St. Francis's) career and upon his authentic utterances," and that "Francis was the most loyal and submissive son and servant of the Papacy."

The truth of this judgment is strikingly illustrated by the changes or modifications of the Rule which took place during the life and after the death of St. Francis. These changes, important as they were, bore upon matters which were mostly incidental or instrumental to the saint's perfervid ideal, and when, by the wise and tactful pressure of Cardinal Ugolino and others, they were effected, the ideal itself, and all that was essential in its aim and inspiration, was left unaltered, and even enlarged and expanded in its practical application. If St. Francis disliked the possession of books and codices, it was because he dreaded any departure from the vow of holy poverty. If he distrusted "book-learning," it was because he felt that it might divert his brethren from that simple homiletic way of preaching which he wished so much to be the mark of their apostolate. Later on, it was found that Franciscans could make use of books, and even write books without being less thoroughly Franciscan for doing so. And the friars, who talked familiarly to groups in the market-place or the harvest-field about God and the truths of salvation, discovered that, if they had the gift at all, they could exercise it not a whit less surely and successfully for having sat for years in the theological schools at the great universities. Thus, as the dread and danger disappeared and the compatibility became more and more evident, the restrictions were wisely discounted, but the spirit and vigour of Franciscanism remained and flourished. At all events, if in later times there can be pointed out cases, local or individual, of deterioration and decline, it was certainly not due to the possession of books or book-learning. It was all to the good of the Order and of the Church that the Friars became not only the apostles of the

populace and the man in the street, but celebrities of the pulpits and lights of the universities.

It would be a mistake to suppose that St. Francis had any distaste for, or disregard of, theology or dogma in itself, as some writers, in our own day, would ask us to believe. In his time the word *theologus* or *theologans* meant generally a theologian and technically the special theologian that, by the decree of Pope Innocent III and the Fourth Council of the Lateran, was to be appointed in every cathedral to give theological and scriptural lectures to the clergy. In the Testament of St. Francis we find the injunction to his friars: "We ought to reverence and honour all theologians *(theologos)* who minister to us the Divine Word, as those who impart to us the Spirit and life."

Far from being in any sense a revivalist free-lance in the matter of doctrine or discipline, St. Francis was to his last breath literally what the article in the *Times* has described him—one who was "a loyal and submissive son and servant of the Papacy," and stamped with "full faith in all the tenets of the medieval Church." That attitude to Church authority is clearly expressed in his Rule, which was approved in the Bull of Honorius III (the *Regula Bullata)*, in which his Friars are directed to live "at all times submissive and subject under the feet of the said Holy [Roman] Church, staunch in the Catholic Faith, practicing poverty and humility and the holy gospel of Our Lord Jesus Christ as we have faithfully promised" (Regula in Bull of Honorius III, Nov. 29, 1223. Bullarium (Cocquelines III, 23).

This triple characteristic of profound conviction and love of the dogmatic teaching, the sacramental system, and the supreme authority of the Church and the Apostolic See, "stamped upon the life and career" of St. Francis, and by him upon his disciples, entered fully and vitally into the development of the Franciscan movement.

It is interesting to note the impact of this Franciscan Rule upon what we may regard as a typically English mind of that period. More than half a century after the death of St. Francis we read of John Peckham, an English Franciscan friar, in whose person we see the expanded scope and florescence of the Franciscan Order. He is still in the prime of life, and held by his brethren in high esteem as a man of sound and reliable judgment—so much so that he was elected Provincial of his Order in England. He is so loyal to the rule and spirit of St. Francis that he is said to have walked on foot to Padua for the General Chapter of the Order, scorning the plea that as a mule is not a horse, to ride on a mule would not be contrary to the Rule which forbade him to travel on horseback or *equitare.*

He has studied at the Universities of Oxford and Paris, and has been the pupil of St. Bonaventure, and the personal friend and defender of St. Thomas Aquinas. He has been called to Rome and made Lector of the Sacred Palace, and appointed to give lectures on Canon Law and theology at the Papal Court. We are told that he has discharged this high office so brilliantly that not only Bishops and curial prelates but great Cardinals of Holy Roman Church were wont to listen and learn at his lectures, and to rise to their feet in reverence to the lowly friar as he passed in or out of the lecture hall. In 1279 Pope

Nicholas III appointed him and personally consecrated him Archbishop of Canterbury. What did this English son of St. Francis think of dogma and theology? We have not the text of his lectures, but anyone can guess the conspicuously orthodox and scholastic teaching that this friend of St. Thomas would deliver under the Papal roof at the Papal curia. What did he think of the sacramental system and especially of the Eucharist? We have only to read the constitutions which he issued as Archbishop of Canterbury in 1281 (Wilkins Concilia II, 50), What did he think of the Papacy? In a letter to King Edward I he shows that by Divine institution (in the text, "Thou art Peter") it has authority in matters spiritual to "make laws which all men are bound to obey." With the courage and candour that "speaks God's testimonies before Kings and is not ashamed," he added, "from this obedience your Royal Highness is not exempt, but is more bound to it than the rest of the laity and men of lower rank." *(Ibid.,* p. 64.)

In teaching this duty of Catholic obedience, he himself set the example. In a letter to Cardinal Orsini about a vexatious cleric who had appealed to the Holy See against his ruling, he says: "We shall be ready at all times to lay our neck under the decisions of the Sacred Apostolic See, however much the pettiness of our own judgment might inwardly seem to resent it." (Registrum II, 512.)

Here the Archbishop is evidently harking back to his Rule. It is true that other Archbishops of Canterbury, like Lanfranc, St. Anselm, and Arundel, and Archbishops of York, like Walter de Gray, Walter Giffard, John Romanus, and William de Melton, were quite as emphatic and quite as cordial in their expressions of reverence and obedience to the Holy See. But in Peckham, with his "lay our necks" *(cervicem substernere)* and the Rule with its "under the feet" *(pedibus subditi)* we recognize the Franciscan touch with all its enthusiasm of submission and its joy of humility.

These utterances suffice to show that the article in the *Times* has conclusive historical evidence behind it when it shows that the founder of the Franciscan Order was a loyal son of the Papacy. The moral of the historical lesson is that Catholic obedience to the Chair of Peter, in all the gladness of its submission and the peace of its strength, is not only compatible with, but can even draw its inspiration from, one of the most beautiful and lovable types of spiritual freedom.

The world of to-day in its pain—which Dr. Barnes' hospital nurse cannot remove—is badly in want of Franciscanism. It needs to be Francisized. In a subsequent article an attempt will be made to state the sense in which that remedy can be practical. Meanwhile let us hope that in his place with God, St. Francis by his prayers may obtain an outpouring of his spirit, shaping the souls of men more and more into his winning and loving likeness in all the beauty, and gentleness, and self-sacrifice of his Divine Master. Then we shall rejoice that *"Franciscus franciscat,"* and in the regeneration of society the old tale of the Greyfriar's adaptation of the Benedictine grace will find its highest and holiest application.

—Mgr. Moyes, D.D.
in *The Tablet.*

THE IRISH FRANCISCANS IN ROME

Non-Catholic writers on the life-story of the great popular Saint of Assisi, more especially the school of M. Paul Sabatier in France, and the followers of the historian John Richard Green, in England, have done much to foster the literary theory that the work and aims of the Franciscan Order are essentially mediæval and rustic in character. Nothing could be more untrue of the great Institution which St. Francis initiated. It is essentially of all times and places; it has quite varied activities, all issuing into realisation concurrently. It is a work of the great city quite as much as of the quiet country town; it is in its place in the scholar's study no less than in the forest mission field; it is appropriately carried on in the university lecture-theater as well as by the instructions given in the rural chapel.

It is all the more necessary to insist on this multiplex mandate of the Franciscan and of other Orders of the Church, because of the subtle device of the modern "lay-spirit," especially as manifested in French political circles, whose hostility to the mission of Christ's Church is diplomatically adjusted so as to appear less rigorous in its persecuting spirit. Such minds now profess to be willing to admit the organised services of the Church into hospitals and asylums, not into schools and universities. "Works of charity" are thus condescendingly assigned to Catholic organisations, while it is implicitly denied that Christian education and Catholic scholarship are works of charity at all. Science and knowledge are not the true working areas for mere friars and monks, in the new gospel of State secularism.

The records of the achievements of the sons of St. Francis for Ireland and for the Irish people is a complete refutation of that anti-Catholic policy, more subtle in its nature than most of its kind. Beyond all question the services of the Irish Franciscans in the ordinary work of saving souls over the countryide and in the towns of Ireland were great and enduring. They were great and widespread in the days before the Religious Revolt, when more than fourscore Franciscan convents served the then very small population which formed our entire nation. The record of these scattered houses has been brought together by Mr. Little and Father Fitzpatrick, and need not be dwelt on here. Their regular work did not end till the English troops closed in on Celtic Ulster, in the ending period of the Twelve Years' War, 1591-1603. Their record in the sixteenth century has been finely told by Father C. P. Meehan: the two centuries of the earlier period of persecution in Ireland, the Tudor century and the Stuart century, places a goodly number of Irish Franciscans on the Roll that will, we all hope, soon receive full official status as the Roll of Martyrs.

It is well within the limits of historic truth to affirm that, more than any other Order or Organisation, the Irish Franciscans contributed in those terrible centuries to keep the Faith in Ireland. Even at the worst periods they were always present in all parts of the country. Such missionary service, done in the full spirit of their Founder, would by itself alone provide a pearl of great price for his chain of seven centuries as a servant of Christ and as a servant of His servants.

But there is more: work which was equally important and much more distinctive, as the contribution of Irish Franciscanism to the service of the Church of Christ and to the story of Ireland's influence in the realm of learning, by which the Church has always set great store. One conspicuous instance of Franciscan scholarship, the joint service of Faith and fatherland, is to be seen in the Irish Franciscan Convent of St. Isadore, at Rome.

Three centuries ago, in the year 1625, Father Luke Wadding started work in the little dwelling attached to the church of St. Isadore the Farmer. His is the greatest name in its history; but in truth he is only first among his equals. With him worked Hugh MacCaughwell—Cavellus, in the Latin of the day—acute writer and thinker, whose untimely death came when he had been just declared co-arb of St. Patrick in the Primatal See of Ireland. John Ponce, of Cork, was another subtle disputant, who has many fine philosophical folios to his credit; Antony O'Hickey, of Dunmoylan, in Thomond—the Hignaeus of the standard edition of Scotus—was another. They had a brilliant predecessor at Padua, in the same work of the exposition and promotion of the Scotist philosophy, when, in the years 1490-1510, Maurice O'Fihely, later Archbishop of Tuam, prepared the authentic text of the great Master of the Schools for the Venetian presses, and so influenced philosophical and theological thought in every university in historic Europe. It is significant that it was against Scotus that the bitter hostility of the emissaries of the Religious Revolt was directed: witness Henry VIII's Commissioners at Oxford, on the treatment which the pages of the text of the philosopher of our race received at their hands.

It is this great task, the publication, the vindication, the application to the great philosophical issues of the time, of the complete works of Scotus, that is inseparably linked with the Irish Franciscan Convent of Saint Isidore at Rome, and with the name of Luke Wadding, director of its activities from 1625 to 1657. The edition of the great teacher's writings, in sixteen folio volumes, Lyons, 1639, would be a permanent glory to any house of studies and research. In Wadding's time, and in the subsequent generation, that of Baron of Clonmel, St. Isidore's headed the Scotist revival; the list of Irish writers participating in it, which began with O'Fihely, of the University of Padua, in 1490, reached down to O'Connor Kerry, 1680.

But this was only one of many areas of literary activity at St. Isidore's. The great Waterford scholar who founded the house also published at Lyons, from 1625 to the year of his death, 1657, the standard and official Annals of the Franciscan Order, in seven folios. To this day this great work presents a unity and a completeness that no other Order in the Church can rival; it has been added to by another Irish Franciscan, Harold, also of St. Isidore's. With it Luke Wadding contributed to the record of his Order at least a dozen other works of research, headed by his volume on Franciscan Writers. His monographs on St. Francis and on St. Anthony of Padua are excellent models of documentary method. Excellent work has been done by the new Franciscan School of History at Quaracchi, for the elucidation of the career of their far-flung Brotherhood; excellent work also in the publication and critical editing of their philosophers and theologians of the golden age of higher studies—the thirteenth century.

But the Irish Franciscans of St. Isidore's, in the seventeenth century, have not yet been equalled in either of these vast fields of exploratory effort.

One would think this would furnish a life's work for ten men; it did not exhaust the work of one man. It may be a bold claim; but one is inclined to regard Luke Wadding of Waterford, founder of St. Isidore's, as the greatest exemplar of Irish ability, industry, and zeal to which our country can point in the whole line of its story down the centuries. He was the diplomatic agent of the Confederate Catholics of Ireland, from 1642 to 1652, and he made herculean efforts to aid the national and Catholic cause. Himself pre-dominantly of Norman-Flemish stock, long settled in Ireland, he was always the staunch supporter of the policy that was unquestionably the true Irish and the true Catholic policy—that of Owen Roe O'Neill and of the Nuncio Rinnuccini. Even the inefficiently edited and scrappy volume published from the Dublin sources by the Historical MSS. Commission twenty years ago gives ample evidence of his unwearied exertions, sound judgment, and considerate dealing. We have still to look forward to a really adequate Life of Father Luke Wadding. It is expected from the pen of Father Gregory Cleary; may it not be long delayed. No section of his whole text, so rightly varied as it will have to be, will be for Ireland as important as this.

Let us remember, too, that Wadding organised the whole range of philosophical and theological studies at Saint Isidore's. An examination of the rules which he drew up for teachers and students gives a lasting conviction of his spiritual wisdom and insight, as well as of his high appreciation of intellectual effort. From this true seminary or seedbed, ever since the days of Wadding, O'Hickey, Ponce, MacCaughwell, Harold, and Baron, came forth well-trained missionaries who were willing to devote themselves to obscure work amid most depressing conditions, in the Ireland of the Penal ages. It would be impossible that there should be no failures among them; every prolonged effort to keep the flame of the Faith burning amid a persecuted people has to confess the occasional failure to stand the terrible test, the incidental disaster to the individual. The record of the Passion has prepared every Order in the Church of Christ for this saddening experience; it is written across the history of persecution of the faith in Japan, even as it is in Ireland. But it certainly was not the outcome of any deficiency in sustained zeal at St. Isidore's. A great house of studies, making splendid and enduring contributions to religious history, as well as to philosophy and theology, it bore even in that period of general decline, the close of the eighteenth century, the reputation of high and inflexible standards of both intellectual effort and of religious observance. Every Irishman, and above all every Irish churchman, can look to its record with pride.

In a very special measure, too, St. Isidore's can teach Ireland, and other countries, too, a valuable lesson, cognate to all that has gone before. Despite a poverty which was conspicuous even in the Order of the Little Poor Man of Assisi, Luke Wadding and his successors knew the immense value of a great library, and made every effort to provide it for both their junior students and their band of historical workers. They promoted the printing of books both in Latin and in Irish, at Rome, for transmission to Ireland. Such importation

always went on, despite the power of the English State at sea, and despite the specially rigorous penal laws against the introductions into Ireland and into Great Britain of Catholic Books and objects of piety. An Irish Franciscan of St. Isidore's, Francis O'Molloy did splendid service in this way in the generation which followed the death of its founder; and his name by no means stands alone in this special, even if modest, list of honour, that of the writers of catechisms and prayer books and smaller spiritual treatises.

Ireland, it has often been said, is careless as to the reputation of its great historic figures. The charge is much less true of Ireland than it is of many other countries. We have managed to preserve a vast historical tradition, with records in writing, in fine metal work, in stone and flint and clay. But it is a notable and a final tribute to our most historic house in the Eternal City that she was not unmindful of her own.

The place is there still, with all the good and stately associations of the later renaissance. Its gardens are a tribute to even the zeal of St. Francis himself, a lover of nature no less than of nature's Maker. There are historic frescoes recording the figures of the great men and great Irishmen who lived and laboured in this convent of the Irish Franciscans. They were executed by a skilled Franciscan hand in 1672, when authentic tradition of these noble-minded founders still was fresh. Above all, there is preserved there the fine portrait of Father Luke Wadding himself, not on frescoe alone, but in the appealingly human and wistful oil painting by Maratta. It rivals the more austere picture long attributed to the great Spanish painter Ribera, and certainly of his school, which is the Franciscan glory of the National Gallery of Ireland.

T. J. CORCORAN, S.J., Litt.D.
in *Catholic Times*.

CELEBRATION AT ASSISI

It is the eve of the Feast of St. Francis, and Assisi is keeping vigil for her most solemn celebration—the glorious "Passing" of her Saint and Apostle, or, as it is styled in the beautiful Franciscan language of the centenary celebrations, "the most happy Transit of the Patriarch St. Francis."

The centenary year began with ceremonies of a local and familiar nature. Now all the intimate affection of the Franciscan Order and the solemn, magnificent ritual of the Church combine to render the seventh centenary of the Transito the crowning point of the Franciscan year!

The narrow, picturesque streets are crowded, not only with St. Francis's fellow citizens and countrymen, but with pilgrims from many lands which the Saint never knew. Thus his prophecy, that all nations would come to him, is being amply fulfilled.

In this vintage time, most exquisite of all seasons in Umbria, when the white and purple grapes hang garlanded in Luca della Robbia garlands from the vineyards in southern profusion, the whole land of St. Francis's birth seems to have decked herself in festive garlands to do sovereign honour to her

glorious son. In this commemoration of the Transito of seven hundred years ago there is a particularly solemn and universal character, not only because the Holy See itself has sent a Pontifical Legate to Assisi for the occasion, not only because of the presence here of six princes of the Church, but on account of the recognition by the whole world of the inestimable benefits conferred on humanity by the life which closed so gloriously on that October evening of 1226.

The approximate preparations for the feast of St. Francis began on September 25, with a Novena, a daily Solemn Pontifical Mass in the Basilica of San Francesco. But the three days preceding the Feast were observed in extraordinary pomp by magnificent Triduums at which various cardinals not only pontificated, but delivered the Homily of the Saint. On Friday, at San Francesco, His Eminence Cardinal Laurenti, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Religious, pontificated and delivered the Homily. Simultaneously, at Santa Maria degli Angeli, the Cardinal Archbishop of Naples, Cardinal Ascalesi, pontificated and delivered a discourse in the afternoon. Each one of the great Patriarchal Basilicas—the Mother Church of the Portiuncula in the Plains and the Tomb-Basilica on the hill—were thronged with pilgrims and Assisians.

Each of the three branches of the Franciscan Order had their Cardinal Protectors present in Assisi. Yesterday Cardinal Granito di Belmonte, Protector of the Friars Minor Capuchins, pontificated at San Francesco, assisted by the General Curia and numerous international representatives of the Order of Minor Capuchins. At the same time, below, at Santa Maria degli Angeli, Cardinal Cerretti (the late Nuncio to Paris) pontificated. At one o'clock Cardinal Bonzano, Pontifical Delegate Ordinary of the Patriarchal Basilica and Papal Chapel of Santa Maria degli Angeli in the Portiuncula, and Protector of the Order of Friars Minor, was solemnly received by the community, and this morning (the Vigil of the Transito) pontificated in state.

All Assisi and crowds of its pilgrim guests lined the broad road from the Angeli to Assisi to welcome the Princes of the Church.

It was a veritable study in Cardinals, as the scarlet robes flashed by, and St. Francis's cardinalatial guests saluted the crowds (St. Francis ever counted many Cardinals among his friends)—Cardinal Laurenti, with his spare, ascetic figure and small, delicate face; splendid old Cardinal Granito di Belmonte, of the fine features and dignified bearing, and the benevolent, fatherly smile; kindly Cardinal Cerretti, that finest of diplomatists and staunchest of Churchmen, whose never-failing courtesy and sincere cordiality helped him over many a difficult and thorny path; Cardinal Bonzano, with the calm clear-cut face, so full of gentle spirituality, youthful-looking still to be a Cardinal. In the early afternoon to-day the whole of Umbria and many lands seemed to muster to receive the special train which carried Pius XIth's official representative, His Eminence Cardinal Merry del Val, Protector of the Order of Minor Conventuals.

Outside the station the people waited to give His Eminence a welcome, but inside, in the Royal waiting room, the foremost representatives of the religious, military and civic authorities received the Papal Legate with all sovereign honours.

It was an impressive moment, as Cardinal Merry del Val, looking every inch a Prince of the Church, descended from the train and graciously greeted the authorities with his kindly smile which lights up his grave face so wonderfully. The fine dignity of his bearing, combined with his deep spirituality, have impressed even those outside the Catholic Church, and never did high honour seem more appropriate than Pope Pius XIth's choice of the Cardinal, Protector of the Minor Conventuals, to be the Sovereign Pontiff's representative at Assisi's Centenary.

The Cardinal Legate drove up the hillside, followed by a long cortège of authorities; and out on the two historic Piazze before the Upper and Lower Churches of San Francesco—the two most impressive spots in all wonderful Assisi—a great gathering of the Assisi citizens and the civil and religious associations of the city gave the first Franciscan greeting to the Pope's representative, as in the name of the Holy Father, the Cardinal blessed the crowds.

It was a splendid scene, with the picturesque, medieval costumes and Assisi's splendid blue and crimson Gonfalone proudly unfurled, amid the gay banners of confraternities and associations and flower-laden children, Inside the Basilica, to the pealing of the organ and the solemn chant of the *Ecce Sacerdos Magnus* of San Francesco's wonderful Franciscan *capella*, directed by its Franciscan choirmaster, the Minister-General of the Friars Conventuals and the Religious of the Sacro Convento received His Eminence with all the stately ceremonial.

Assisi has welcomed many distinguished visitors already during this Centenary year—His Majesty, the King of Italy, Royal Princes, Crown Ministers and Senators—but few sights more impressive could be imagined than this solemn reception of the Papal Legate in San Francesco. His eminence knelt in prayer at St. Francis's tomb in his cardinalatial robes, surrounded by the Father General, the Religious of the Sacro Convento, and his own brilliant court of secretary and gentlemen-in-waiting, then, escorted by the Superior, descended into the crypt to pray.

Towards nightfall came the most striking ceremony of all, the solemn commemoration of the Transito, at Santa Maria degli Angeli, when, with the assistance of the Cardinal Legate at the Pontificial Throne, Cardinals, Bishops, Prelates, and people gathered around the narrow Chapel of the Transito, the cell of St. Francis's life and death; the most sacred spot together with the Portiuncula in all the noble Basilica of Our Lady of the Angels, where "the most holy soul" (as the Francisco liturgy styles it) of Francis of Assisi passed to God on the October evening seven hundred years ago tonight.

The after-glow of sunset lies rosy and clear outside, over the broad horizons of the plains, where twilight creeps on almost impreceptibly, Assisi up on its hillside twinkles in myriad lights. But within the vast spaces of the Basilica of Our Lady of the Angels there is a noonday of flashing brilliance. The great cupola, so like that of St. Peters, is literally outlined in light, inside and out—a flaming beacon to the countryside. Lights flash in reflected prisms of radiance from countless crystal chandeliers. The Cardinal-Legate's magnificent throne stands out in high relief from the grandly sculptured stalls.

Yet, strangely enough, the brilliant sanctuary, with centuries' treasures of the Basilica loading the altar, is not the centre of light and attraction, but the tiny cell on the right of the nave, so narrow in its limits, so vast in its associations—the Corner-stone that made this mighty Basilica of stupendous architecture possible. On this very spot St. Francis lived his mystic life of supremest union with his Lord, and here he slept in death, under the shadow of the Portiuncula—his beloved little portion from whose source of grace his life-sacrifice continues to ages untold.

Even in death he is the faithful Lover of Poverty, for his memory lives, not in the great Renaissance Basilica, but within the narrow limits of the poor humble cell, where only Luca della Robbia's sculptured prayer-portrait shines like a vision from the shadows—a breathing inspiration.

The organ peals out in high triumphant notes; for is not this great celebration, to which the long magnificent cortege is slowly sweeping along, the commemoration of an immortal triumph—the victory of the Spirit? "Franciscus, Pauper et humilis," has entered this night into glory.

On ordinary occasions of the feast, the religious gather around the Transito Chapel to sing the hymn, but on this seven hundredth anniversary the Holy Father (in spirit and by deputy), the representatives of the Sacred College and the Hierarchy, and the whole world which loves St. Francis kneel at the humble cell, together with the great Franciscan family, to receive the dying blessing in which St. Francis remembered us all.

The Papal and Franciscan choirs and many celebrated choirs of Italy seem to crash across the stillness with their high sweet notes, soaring to be lost in the dark spaces of the dome. It is a marvellous picture, the tiny frescoed chapel, the great gathering of Cardinals and Prelates framed in the austere setting of the austere Franciscan brown of St. Francis's sons.

The Cardinal-Legate being seated on his Throne, Cardinal Bonzano, as Protector of the Friars Minor, mounts the pulpit to deliver a heartfelt and eloquent discourse on the life of St. Francis.

As the Cardinal's clear, quiet voice ceased, one seemed to hear, re-echoing over the silent, densely-crowded church: "May my Lord be blessed for Sister Death." Minds and hearts, enkindled by the word-pictures of reality just set before them, realised, if only for one short moment, the Beauty of Renunciation and its reward. The Saint of humanity was near us all.

A two minutes' silence was decreed for meditation. During those two minutes the brilliant surroundings seem to have faded, and the frescoed walls of the Transito Chapel are once more bare and rough. In the dim light of flickering tapers a group of friars kneel about a small emaciated figure lying on the stone floor on a bed of ashes, and there was silence save for the chanting by the brethren of the 31st Psalm. Then, as if by a miracle, the sightless eyes opened and the feeble hands groped to lie in blessing on the heads of the friars and the sweet voice rang out for the last time in the Psalm he loved. With its strophies on his lips, St. Francis was enfolded in the Eternal Embrace of the Love of his life, in the perfection of that Joy in which he had lived even in life.

While the brethren wept above him, his Sister Birds, who had gathered on the wattled roofs, sang Matins in his stead, and flew upwards in great flights, as if to accompany his soul to Heaven.

In setting the scene is different from that of 1226, but in spirit the same, for the Catholic world represents St. Francis's brethren. It kneels once more for Francis's blessing, and the love is there and the homage and the remembrance through seven long centuries.

—Marie Donegan Walsh,
in the *Universe*.

CHRONICLE

Three notable Catholic events occurred in connection with the Sesquicentennial in Philadelphia during September and October, says *America*, (October 9).

The first was the production of the pageant "Constancy" at the Metropolitan Opera House under the auspices of the American Catholic Historical Society. It was a spectacular presentation of the part that Catholics played in winning American freedom. It opened with a scene in which Charles Carroll, signer of the Declaration of Independence, announced the glad tidings of liberty to his tenants; presented a glorious picture of the court of France promising help to Franklin, and ended with a hilarious scene, in which some 1200 people were participants, of the reception given to the French officers after the surrender of the British at Yorktown. The text was written by Rev. John F. Burns, O.S.A., of Villanova College, and the cast recruited from the best Catholic dramatic talent in the city. In the following week, Holy Cross College of Worcester, Mass., achieved a notable scholastic triumph by the presentation of Euripides' "Hecuba" in the original Greek. The collegians had already presented the tragedy in Worcester last May. By invitation of the Sesquicentennial directors, they gave three brilliant performances in the stadium before several thousand people. The play was presented with minute fidelity to the original Greek spirit and practice. The chant and movement of the chorus was a poem even for those who could not understand the words. The characters preserved the statuesque quality of the Greek actor and spoke their lines not only with admirable accuracy, as anyone who follows the Greek text knows, but also with a complete mastery of their interpretation. It was a distinct triumph for Catholic education. The third and greatest of the Catholic events at the Sesquicentennial, and perhaps one of the most notable Catholic events in Philadelphia history, was the open-air Mass celebrated by his Eminence, Cardinal Dougherty in the Stadium on October 3.

The celebration of the California Sesquicentennial held at San Francisco during October was attended with elabroate ceremonies civic and ecclesiastical. The ecclesiastical function was graced by the presence of His Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of New York, who delivered a splendid address at the opening. The following is an excerpt:

> There are two great gateways in America, the one looking across the Atlantic, and the other looking across the Pacific. Both are noble gateways carved out of nature itself by the omnipotent hand of God. Both were intended in the Providence of God to be gates of promise and opportunity to millions who would find in other parts of the world sorrow, oppression and death itself, one would say, had they not moved across the sea in order to come to our glorious land. We have indeed the same problem—it is the problem of the gate.
>
> The strength of a city must be measured by the strength of its gates. And it is around the gateway of every country in history that mighty

struggles have taken place and mighty conflicts of every kind have secured stability, progress and growth for a city. But I say here tonight that I doubt whether our country at large appreciates the difficult problems that San Francisco and New York have had and the splendid service they have rendered to America in its upbuilding and strengthening of the highest and best forces of the country.

America is America only when it is broad enough and sympathetic enough, to open its gates, to open its arms, to those who come within and have a right to come within its hospitable shores, sympathetic enough to say, "Yes, you are privileged to be here, and more than privileged, for you have a right to enjoy under our Constitution and under our flag, religious freedom and religious liberty."

His Eminence Francis Aidan, Cardinal Gasquet, D.D., O.S.B., passed his eightieth milestone on October 2.

The son of a distinguished London physician, Cardinal Gasquet has won world-wide fame as an historian and as President of the Commission formed to examine the text of the Latin Vulgate Bible and to collect material for amending it.

His Eminence was created a Cardinal Deacon in 1914 and a Cardinal Priest last year, when he completed sixty years in the religious life. He has been a priest for fifty-two years. He was Prior of Downside from 1878 to 1885 and Abbot President of the English Benedictine Congregation from 1900 to 1914. During his term of office Downside, Douai, and Ampleforth were raised to the rank of Abbeys.

Cardinal Gasquet began systematic historical research work in 1886, and in the same year was appointed a member of Pope Leo XIII.'s Commission on Anglican Orders.

At the beginning of 1926 His Eminence became seriously ill. His condition was so grave that he received the Last Sacraments. But he made a wonderful recovery and is now enjoying good health. Only a few months ago he was able to present to the Holy Father the first instalment of the new edition of the Vulgate.

The Rt. Rev. Mgr. Peter de Roo died at Portland, Oregon, on September 7. He was the doyen of the diocese of Oregon City.

Born in Belgium in 1839, he went in 1872 to Oregon, where, with the exception of a few years spent at the Vatican Archives, he laboured until his retirement in 1908. A distinguished scholar, he was the author of *A History of America Before Columbus* and *Material for a History of Pope Alexander VI*, in six volumes. He was proficient in most of the European languages, including Icelandic. R.I.P.

Through an arrangement with Dr. Otto H. F. Volibehr, who brought them from Germany for exhibition at the Eucharistic Congress, over 3,000 volumes, ranging from tiny prayer books to large folios, illustrative of the Church's progress in the civilizing of the world, were on exhibition for several weeks at the National Arts Club, New York City. The collection, according to the estimate of Dr. Pierce Butler, librarian of the Newberry Library of Chicago, has a value in excess of $2,500,000.

The *Saturday Review of Literature* states:

Many of these fifteenth century books still have the iron chains and rivets that originally bound them to the desks of monastery libraries. Many have metal clasps and studs which prevented their coming in contact with damp shelving. They are printed mainly in Latin. Among them are fifty-six differently printed Bibles, fifty works of Augustine, twenty-two of Savonarola, six of the "Divine Comedy," and four of Ovid, while other authors are represented by from four to thirty-seven examples, showing the great number of printing presses at work in Germany at the same time, and the wide diffusion of books in the first half century after the invention of printing.

In addition to this collection of incunabula, several manuscripts of the medieval Popes, Gregory XVI, Clement VII, Alexander VII, and Benedict IX, which were also brought by Dr. Volibehr, were presented by him to Cardinal Mundelin, at the conclusion of the Eucharistic Congress in Chicago.

An English exchange says:

Among his many talents, Dr. Winnington Ingram, Bishop of London, does not include a sense of humour. Quite recently he laid the foundation stone of a new Anglican Cathedral at Victoria, the capital of British Columbia. This stone was laid on twelve stones which had once formed part of a former Canterbury cathedral, and which had been shipped to the far West for the purpose. Emphasis was laid on the point that these stones represented the continuity of the Anglican Church with the Church established by St. Augustine in the sixth century. But St. Augustine was sent to England by Pope St. Gregory the Great, so Dr. Winnington Ingram felt it necessary to tell the people of Victoria why he was not in communion with the See of Peter. "I am not a Roman Catholic," he said, "because I am an English Catholic. Am I not the one hundred and eighth Bishop of London in direct succession?" St. Mellitus, the first Bishop of London, was appointed by Pope Gregory, and for nearly a thousand years his successors acknowledged the authority of the Bishop of Rome. When England broke away from Rome, a new line of people officially termed Bishops was started. They taught new doctrines and derived their authority from Parliament. They belonged to the Church of England as by law established. Dr. Winnington Ingram belongs to this new line, which did not succeed, but supplanted, the historic line. A tablet in Westminster Cathedral shows the descent of His Eminence Cardinal Bourne from St. Mellitus as the latter's successor in the episcopal oversight of his see.

The Buffalo *Union and Times* says:

"The Church Handbook for Catholic Germany" issued recently has brought to light many interesting facts concerning the status of the church in that country. Many favorable signs point to the growth of Catholicism and to an increased fervor among the people. This is due principally to the revival of religious orders, to a wider interest in Catholic literature and to a deeper and stronger faith. While the Church is growing, if not in number, at least in fervor, Protestantism, and particularly Lutheranism, is alarmed at the defection from religion. During the five-year period between 1919 and 1924, the Church actually lost 122,593 members. Protestantism is credited with losing 522,434 through separation. Germany has 21,000,000 Catholics and a loss of 122,593 in five years is comparatively small if one considers the state of that country following the World War.

On the other hand, Germany has reason to sense a real danger in a decreasing birth rate. In 1913 the birth rate was 28.4 to each one thousand inhabitants. In 1924 it had fallen to 21.1. This is partly explainable by considering the economic condition of Germany in the latter years of the War and in the years following the great conflict. However in the larger Catholic towns and cities in the Westphalian district the number of births has been maintained at practically the pre-war rate. In Berlin, the birth rate has fallen so low that the number of deaths exceed the number of births by 1.5.

It is pleasing to know from an authentic source that the Church is holding her own despite the many handicaps that faced the people of Germany following the World War. This is due to the zeal of the clergy, to the sacrifices of religious, and to the faith and devotion of the people. In the face of many obstacles the church has made progress while Lutheranism has lost its prestige and its power. Now that Germany is regaining her position as a world power, despite the pressure on her from the rest of Europe, it is to be hoped that the Church will steadily increase in numbers until she regains the position which she held before the apostacy of Luther.

Several valuable books have been presented to the library of the Catholic University of America, by His Eminence Cardinal Gasparri, Papal Secretary of State. Among them are the twelfth and latest volume of the complete records of the Council of Trent (1563), the two folios of Father Beda Kleinschmidt on the great frescoes of the Basilica of St. Francis at Assisi, and the first volume (Genesis) of the new Vatican Edition of the Vulgate, or Latin version of the Bible, as it left the hands of St. Jerome. Father Weld Blundell, one of the co-operators of the learned Father Henri Quentin on this monumental work, is at present Prior of the Benedictine community in Brookland.

The Department of Architecture of the University has just issued its first year-book, descriptive of the work carried on under the direction of Professor Frederick V. Murphy. Besides information concerning the four-years' course

in architecture, this quarto contains reproductions of a number of the best drawings executed last year by the students of the department, which were accorded several prizes and honorable mentions by the Beaux Arts Institute of New York. There is also a reproduction of the gold medal of honor conferred last year on the Department of Architecture by the Association of French Government Architects for the highest proportion of values for work submitted by competing colleges and universities on the basis of problems submitted by the Beaux Arts Institute of Design.

The Feast of Christ the King was observed at the Catholic University on Sunday, October 31. Solemn pontifical mass was celebrated at 10:30 a. m. in the crypt of the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception by Right Rev. Thomas J. Shahan, D. D., Rector of the University. Rev. Dr. James H. Ryan, professor of philosophy and executive secretary of the National Catholic Welfare Council, preached the sermon. Professors and students attended and there was a large gathering of worshippers from parishes in the city. This new feast was proclaimed by Pius XI December 31, last, in order to have Catholics make special recognition of the Kingship of Jesus Christ.

Dr. W. F. Albright, director of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem and Bagdad delivered an illustrated lecture at the University on Wednesday, Nov. 3. His subject was: "The Excavation of an Israelite City; Seven Years of Archaeological Exploration in Palestine." The lecture was given in the new auditorium of the Maloney chemical laboratory. It was largely attended. Dr. Albright described the work of the American School since 1920 in surface exploration and the excavation of sites and new methods in historical archeology and topography. During Dr. Albright's absence in the United States, a professor of the Catholic University of America, Fr. Butin, replaces him at the school in Jerusalem.

The ancient monastic republic of Mount Athos has been dissolved by the Greek dictator, General Pangalos. Athos is a small promontory in the Ægean Sea. Medieval Greek tradition designated Mount Athos as the "nigh mountain" upon which Satan tempted Our Lord. The monks of Athos are not in communion with Rome. The tiny State was one of the oldest and most picturesque in the world, having preserved the autonomy given to it a thousand years ago by the Christian Emperors of Constantinople.

General Pangalos explains his act by the vague assertion that it is a part of a new orientation of Greek policy.

Mount Athos, which also is called Holy Mount, was in ancient times inhabited by numberless hermits, who lived apart from each other. In the tenth century, however, cenobitical, or communal, life was introduced.

In the year 963, St. Athanasius the Athonite, the friend of Emperors Nicephore, Phocas, and Tzimisces, founded on the Mount the Great Laura (monastery). Monks flocked to it from everywhere. Each of the nations where Orthodoxy now flourishes sent monks to represent it in the convents of Mount Athos. It came to be considered a Holy Place for pilgrimages.

From the tenth to the twelfth century the known monasteries on the Mount counted more than a hundred.

When Mahomet II. was about to take Constantinople, the monks of Mount Athos, then all of the Orthodox faith, made their submission to him. Thereafter they were authorised to form a sort of privileged Republic, which has survived almost unchanged to this day.

At present Mount Athos counts 20 monasteries and a great number of smaller convents, peopled by about 6,000 monks and several thousand secular servants. There is not a woman in the whole peninsula.

A Council, made up of 20 members and meeting at Karies, the capital, has been entrusted with the care of the interests of the Republic.

The convents are divided into monasteries, skites, kellias, and hermitages. Eleven monasteries (the koinobia) are organised on monarchial lines, and their monks have no individual possessions. The other nine (idiorythmes) have a democratic form of government, and their monks have the right to private property.

The most important of all these convents is the Roussicon, which belongs to the Russian monks, and which numbers no fewer than 800 members.

The Papal Commission on Christian Archæology has issued a report of its recent work in renovating and restoring the historic memorials of Christian Rome.

In the cemetery of Saint Ermetes, on the old Via Salaria, the crypt of St. Hyacinth, martyred under Valerian, and the large underground basilica, have been excavated. Thus the body of a genuine martyr has been recovered, the first for the past two centuries, says the *Universe*.

Another catacomb, that of Pamphilus, on the same Via Salaria, has been in great part cleared, and in this, at a great depth, a crypt of the third century and a small altar well preserved have been found.

The excavations in the second century cemetery of Pretextatus, in the Via Appia, have also been continued, and a new entrance from the public road constructed. This cemetery is close to the papal cemetery, the well-known catacombs of San Callisto.

Here also the work of exploration is being prosecuted towards and under the monastery of the Trappist Fathers. The Commission of Christian Archæology has acquired, on behalf of the Holy See, an area over a portion of the Catacombs of San Callisto, where an instructive exhibition is being arranged.

The civil authorities are also engaged on several excavations on a large scale, the greatest being the clearing of the immense Forum of Augustus. Persons passing on the tram through Via Alessandrina can admire the colossal structures be-

ing uncovered, and also the patient skill with which both the ancient and mediaeval remains are protected from injury during the tedious operations of clearing.

Visiting these excavations, even in their present state, one cannot fail to be impressed with the grandeur in idea and execution of the marvelous buildings of this Forum, which is in close proximity to the Roman Forum and to that of Trajan. Though the construction of this Forum of Augustus was decreed after the Battle of Philippi, the erection did not take place until nearly forty years later.

The Rome correspondent of the *Universe* says in a recent issue:

Two unedited sermons of St. Augustine have been discovered amongst the manuscripts of the Ambrosian Library, Milan, by Padre Gerardo Morin. The text has been conserved in a Latin codex of the 12th century, which belonged to the monastery of Savino at Piacenza, but has been in the Ambrosian since the time of St. Charles Borromeo. The first sermon—"De Natali Massae Candidae"—was pronounced at Carthage by St. Augustine to commemorate the anniversary of Christians martyred under Valerian. The second sermon, also delivered at Carthage, was a eulogium of Quadrato, Bishop of Utica, who was put to death a few days after the Martyrs of Massa Candida. The Bishop's martyrdom took place on August 21, 259, following the massacre of his clergy and people of Utica.

Shortly after the return of Cardinal Bonzano to Rome from the United States Pope Pius XI sent an autograph letter to Cardinal Hayes, thanking the New York prelate, Governor Smith, Mayor Walker, the clergy and faithful of the Archdiocese of New York for the reception given on his arrival here to Cardinal Bonzano, who came from Rome as the personal legate of the Pope to attend the Eucharistic Congress last June, in Chicago.

Cardinal Bonzano was received at the City Hall by Governor Smith and Mayor Walker. Thousands gathered in and about the City Hall to see the Legate.

The Pope's letter reads:

To Our Beloved Son, Patrick Joseph Cardinal Hayes, Archbishop of New York, health and apostolic blessing.

Our Most Eminent Cardinal Legate, reporting to us on his return from the United States concerning the International Eucharistic Congress, celebrated with such splendid solemnity in Chicago last June, did not forget to describe in stirring language the extraordinary evidences of faith and piety displayed on the one hand by the faithful of your jurisdiction and on the other sincere deference with which the people of New York, under your inspiring leadership, welcomed our representatives to the soil of the great American Republic.

Such a demonstration by the great metropolis of the Western World on the above-mentioned occasion, participated in by the civil authorities, is at the same time witness before the entire world of the deep veneration accorded by your great nation to the head of the Catholic Church, and has been to us a source of

supreme satisfaction in that it manifests how profoundly rooted in American hearts is that religious spirit which is the source and guarantee of national greatness and prosperity.

We wish to express to you, beloved son, to the supreme civil magistrates of your city and State, to all your clergy and people, our profound gratitude and the paternal joy which, for the two-fold reason mentioned above, animates us because of this cordial public reception.

We are persuaded that where religion and true liberty are honored, there, under the guidance and favor of the Almighty, must inevitably follow the blessings of civil and moral progress.

We furthermore rejoice in this opportunity to convey our most cordial good wishes for continued prosperity and grace to the Church in New York and its shepherd, and with paternal affection we impart to you, our beloved son, to the clergy and people of your archdiocese and to all who have the high responsibility of governing such a splendid people our apostolic blessing, which, we trust, will be a pledge of heavenly recompense for their generosity.

Given at Rome from the Vatican on the 9th day of August in the year 1926, the Fifth of our Pontificate.

POPE PIUS XI.

The Villa Gabrielli, purchased as a home for Propaganda College and the North American College is now partially rearranged. At the end of October Propaganda College was transferred from its old building to the new villa, which is conveniently adapted to all its needs. The classes of Propaganda University will still be conducted in the building now occupied by the college. The North American College will be transferred to the villa next year when the new buildings will be ready for it.

The Ibero-American Exhibition at Seville announces that amongst the main attractions on show are the documents known as the "Archives of Columbus," consisting of 97 different documents together with the Book of Privileges.

These important papers were handed over to the State by the Duke of Veragua, a lineal descendant of the great "New World" discoverer, and by him deposited at the Bank of Spain. The purchase price was 1,250,000 pesetas.

The Catholics in Denmark celebrated in August the eleven hundredth anniversary of the coming of St. Ansgar, who brought the Faith to the Vikings of Scandinavia in 826.

St. Ansgar was a Benedictine of Corvey Abbey, in Westphalia, and it was not easy for the young monk to leave his beloved church and abbey and his school, where he was highly esteemed by his superiors and loved by his pupils.

Numberless were the difficulties and hardships he met with for he had to realise Christ's word—"the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and only the

violent bear it away." But St. Ansgar was an intrepid, undaunted warrior of Our Lord; he went on teaching and preaching and baptising; he was appointed a bishop and archbishop; he became a friend of the heathen nation and king; and now he is known in Christendom as "Nordens Apostel," the Apostle of the North.

The estate of the Catholic Count Joseph Holstein and his wife (née Hamilton), Ledreborg (near Roskilde, the famous old burial place of the Danish kings), was chosen for the great celebration. The castle there has a beautiful little chapel, the only one in Denmark, that formerly belonged to the Church, and was restored to Her by the father of Count Joseph in the short time of his Prime-Ministership.

The chapel, of course, was too small to accommodate all the Catholics assembled on that occasion. They came not only from Jutland and the Danish islands, but also from Sweden and Norway. From Copenhagen alone a train, consisting of thirty-four coaches, brought people to the place of meeting. The Swedish Bishop, Dr. Müller, was seen along with Mgr. Bucks, Bishop of Finland, and the representative of Norway. Most of the Danish Catholic aristocracy, the late Minister of Foreign Affairs, Harald Scavenius, Count Frederik Moltke, and other distinguished men, attended the meeting. About 3,000 to 4,000 people were present at the celebration—laymen and priests, religious in their various habits, and Polish farmworkers.

In the beautiful wide courtyard the Danish Bishop, Mgr. Brems, sang the High Mass, surrounded by his clergy, while a body of seventy singers formed the choir. The Bishop's sermon was reported by all the great papers. He declared that this was the most beautiful feast a nation could celebrate, because it was the commemoration of its conversion to the Catholic Faith. "The ancient Cathedrals of Viborg, Ribe, and Roskilde," he said, "are still witnesses of the old Faith, and they will continue to be so until the gospel is preached therein in the same way as St. Ansgar did."

M. Jean Jules Jusserand, former French ambassador to the United States, and John Spencer Bassett, Professor of History at Smith College, Northampton, Mass., in a statement recently submitted to the American Historical Association on "The Writing of History," state that History is read less in America today than it was forty years ago.

M. Jusserand is not dismayed however for he says:

"In the flux and reflux of human tastes and dispositions, this is probably but a temporary phase," he says, "and it will be shortened if would-be historians and those who teach them remember the fundamental principles of the genre."

These principles he describes in the assertion that history must conform to the truth and be as interesting as life itself, and he scouts the theory that history cannot at one time be both interesting and also scientific, saying that students who fear to be interesting frighten away the public by a dull display of their science.

Despite vastly greater opportunity made possible by "a brilliant advance" in teaching in schools and colleges, history is not, as historians have a right to expect, in a better position with the men and women of this country than ever before, Professor Bassett believes. He asks:

"Since more of them have studied it in school, ought not one to expect that a very large part of our people should be interested in reading history, that a great demand should exist for historical books and that a large and powerful group of historians should be writing many histories to meet this demand?

"But," he asserts, "no such conditions exist." This he explains by saying that the old school lacked the critical spirit and ignored the parts of history that did not seem brilliant; that it ignored things relating to every-day life as too common to dignify their stories and that much of its work was superficial.

Commenting on the financial side of writing history, Professor Bassett says: "For the 'Conquest of Peru' Prescott received $7,500 in cash the day the book went on sale, the edition being 7,500 copies, and for an English edition issued at the same time he got $4,000. Many later editions were sold and the total returns were large. Some of Washington Irving's books were accepted by the public as history. For his 'Columbus,' his 'Voyages of Columbus,' 'Alhambra,' 'Granada,' 'Bonneville' and 'Astoria' he received for the American editions $41,875 and for the English editions $24,500.

"Of Motley's 'Rise of the Dutch Republic' 15,000 copies were sold in the first year. Bancroft realized a fair fortune from the sale of his history. although a wealthy marriage was the basis of the free expenditure which his high state involved in later life.

"Returns like these are perhaps beyond the day-dreams of the present historians."

The new school, Professor Bassett says, is grounded in "the scientific spirit," subordinating everything to the truth. This "information" method, he says, has made history dull. Good history, he contends, is good literature. More imagination and greater charm of style, he says, are needed to impart life and interest to the dull and formless exhibitions of the critical process which too often bore the reader.

The successor to Father Wulstan as prior of St. Anselm's (the Benedictine Foundation at the Catholic University of America), is Dom Adrian Weld-Blundell, O.S.B. He is the son of Thomas Weld-Blundell, of Ince-Blundell. As related in *The Life and Times of John Carroll* by Dr. Peter Guilday (Vol. I, p. 371 sq.), it was in the chapel of Lulworth Castle, the ancestral home of the Weld family, that Archbishop Carroll, the first bishop in the United States, was consecrated. The consecrating prelate was Bishop Charles Walmesley, O.S.B. Bishop Carroll's pectoral cross was the abbatial cross of the last abbot of Colchester. The chain of events which has resulted in bringing to the Archdiocese of Baltimore a prelate whose family history is so intimately connected with the Catholic Church in America may well be called remarkable.

Father Adrian was born on October 8, 1860; he was professed on September 6, 1879, and ordained priest on July 11, 1886. He has been for many years a co-operator of Cardinal Gasquet in the work of the revision of the Vulgate text of the Bible. American visitors to Rome who have visited San Callisto and have seen the workshop of the revisors will remember Father Adrian and the pile of manuscripts, codices and photographic reproductions with which he was occupied. He will be cordially welcomed in the scholastic circles of Washington, and will renew many friendships formed during his days in Rome.

The Benedictine Foundation at Washington opened on October 1, a school which is probably the first in this country to offer the arts and crafts to retarded children in the hope of making them self-supporting. It is called St. Gertrude School of Arts and Crafts, and is under the direction of Dom Thomas Verner Moore, O.S.B., M.D., nationally known psychologist and specialist in mental and nervous diseases.

For this work the Benedictines have remodeled a cottage in the vicinity of the Catholic University; and, there, in a pastoral atmosphere, will blend instruction in religion and the arts and crafts. Four Benedictine Sisters have been placed in charge, and for the present a group of 10 resident girls and several day pupils is the complement. The ages of the pupils are between 8 and 13 years. A cottage for boys will be opened as soon as possible.

Dr. Moore says that it is his hope to take these cases of borderline mentality, and to train them for some useful occupation. The school, he said, will show that it is possible to use various grades of intelligence to do various grades of unskilled labor in the arts and crafts. All 10 of the girls who live at the cottage are of the "upper grade" of retardation, he said.

"The pupils," Dr. Moore continued, "will be kept there indefinitely in the hope that they might like to remain and exercise the proficiency they attain in the arts and crafts in cloistered surroundings. But, if they want to go out and will go out, it is our hope to have equipped them to be self-supporting under proper guidance."

The products of the children's labors will be sold; and, after the cost of the materials has been deducted, the balance of the sale price will be put in bank to the credit of the child making the article. Thus each child, while training herself, will be creating a bank account.

The facilities of the Providence Hospital clinic of mental and nervous diseases will be employed in caring for the children, thus insuring them adequate care. Educational measurement of the children will be made at this clinic before they begin their course.

Sister Olivia, one of the four Benedictine nuns at the school, is a graduate nurse, and was for many years superintendent of St. Mary Hospital in Duluth, where a clinic for children of this type was conducted under special supervision. Sister Justini, an associate of Sister Olivia in the work, received her training at the Mayo Foundation, University of Minnesota. This little faculty also has a

specialist in domestic science and one in mechanical work such as the children will learn.

It is planned always to keep to the cottage system of housing. Thus every cottage will be a family group; and this arrangement coupled with the spacious grounds, on which are many fruit and shade trees, is expected to assist greatly in the development of the children.

The N. C. W. C. *News Service* states that Catholic colleges and universities in the United States, exclusive of women's colleges, increased their enrollments by 9,442 students in the last two years, according to statistics gathered by the Bureau of Education of the N. C. W. C.

This is an increase of 20.4 per cent for the two-year period covered by the survey. Furthermore, it is a 4 per cent greater increase than that registered by the same Catholic colleges in the preceding two-year period, the increase in that instance being 16.4 per cent.

These colleges, at the close of the school year 1925-26, had a total enrollment of 55,724 students. At the end of the school year 1923-24, they had a total enrollment of 46,282. While the colleges dealt with are men's colleges, included in the figures are some women students, attending Catholic co-educational institutions. Statistics for the Catholic women's colleges are now being prepared by the Bureau.

Catholic men's colleges and universities in the country now total 74.

A special list of colleges and universities with student bodies of more than one thousand shows sixteen institutions in this class. They had a total enrollment at the end of the last school year of 42,501, whereas the same institutions at the end of the 1923-24 school year had 35,023 students. The increase in this group for the two years was thus 7,478, or 21.1 per cent, showing that the increase in the larger colleges and universities was slightly greater than that for the smaller institutions.

The eighteenth annual session of the *Semaines Sociales de France* which took place at Havre during the early days of August was attended by nearly two thousand persons. Through the courtesy of the editor of the *Universe* we present an excellent summary of the *Acta* of the *Semaine*.

Five diocesan Bishops—the Cardinal of Paris, the Archbishop of Rouen (who presided the whole week), and the Bishops of Arras, Bayeaux, and Agen took part in the school, and one foreign Bishop, Mgr. Bidwell, of Westminster, who headed the British party, which, in response to efforts made by the "Catholic Council for International Relations" and the "Catholic Association," attended the conference. Smaller contingents, including three Mexicans, had come from nineteen other countries.

For these reasons it would indeed be difficult to exaggerate the importance of this gathering. It is a real landmark in the development of post-war Europe, and a very welcome one. Too long have Catholics allowed Protestants and

Socialists to "steal their thunder," as the Secretary-General of the League of Nations once put it, in all that concerns the morality of international life. Now at last we have Catholics, just because they are Catholics, thrashing out the practical difficulties which impede the peace of nations, and anxious to overcome them; denouncing on this side false pacifism and humanitarian internationalism and, on that, the unChristian arrogance of nationalism; studying the whole history of international arbitration and mediation; and, through all this, becoming thoroughly conscious of the unique rôle which the Holy Father has played in the past, and can play even more fully in the future with the loyal co-operation of his children, as the Peace-maker of the world.

To this very significant development in August, 1926, many small and seemingly unsuccessful efforts in the past have contributed in France. But be it remembered that the essential notion of arousing the interests of Catholics *as a whole* to their international responsibilities, through loyalty to the Holy See, is to be traced to the conference at Reading in 1923; to the subsequent formation and work of the "C.C.I.R." in Great Britain; and in particular to that Conference of Catholics from thirty nations which it convened just a year ago at Oxford.

Just as that conference has resulted in very similar Catholic Societies for Peace being formed in Holland and Germany, and a general extension of the "Catholic Union of International Studies" in Switzerland, Poland, and Central Europe, so it caused the organisers of this National French Summer School at Havre to choose "International Life" as its subject, with the success we have been privileged to witness.

I have dwelt at length on these practical conclusions, since only a considerable volume could do justice to the intellectual output of the week. Its publication in full will supply the Catholic literature upon international relations—which we have long needed—for some years to come. I can only pick out one or two of the more remarkable contributions.

M. Georges Goyau, the famous sociologist and historian, now a venerable member of the Académie Française, traced in a masterly fashion the development of Catholic teaching and practice concerning international law. He defined "Peace," after St. Augustine, not as the mere absence of unrest, but as "deliberate, patient effort, constantly liable to setbacks, constantly to be renewed, resulting from the adherence of our wills to a certain order decreed by God." He showed how the Augustinian conception of Peace underlay the Papal theocracy of the early Middle Ages, and inspired all the Church's endeavours to build up and pacify an united Christendom—the intervention of Councils to protect non-combatants; the founding of "Leagues of Peace" from the ninth to twelfth centuries to suppress private war; and the custom of introducing a solemn oath, sworn on the relics of the Saints, to enhance the value of these covenants.

While seeking by all means to prevent war—the conduct of which was then largely dependent on the feudal oath—the Church no less constantly endeavoured to make it more and more difficult for unjust war to be declared, by showing the consciences of men the conditions which alone could justify the use of force.

The Bishop of Arras, who, covering much the same ground as M. Goyau,

dealt in more detail with "the rules of international life in war and peace," the Archbishop of Rouen, Fr. de la Brière, S.J., in his careful analysis of the League of Nations, and Fr. Desbuquois, S.J.—and, indeed, many other speakers—spoke very strongly in favor of obtaining the regular support and guidance of the Holy See for the League of Nations. It was generally assumed that this could, and should, be obtained through diplomatic channels, but that it should be secured somehow was assumed to be essential.

No secret was made of the policies and theories, wholly incompatible with Catholicism, which were inevitably brought to bear on the League by many masonic or other non-Catholic politicians or officials engaged in its work. But it was regarded as a necessary Catholic duty to counteract those influences, both to enable the League to become a more trustworthy instrument of international justice and goodwill, and for the cause of religion itself. The Secretary-General of the League was officially represented at Havre by M. Denys and the Baron de Montenach, both officers of the Secretariat.

Apart from the League of Nations every important aspect of which was dealt with by competent lecturers, other realities of international life most carefully scrutinized were the ramifications of "Big Finance" to which Fr. Achille Danset contributed a brilliant paper, and the activities of the Socialist and Communist internationales.

Time after time throughout the week we were reminded that the whole science of international politics, though subject to the indispensible influence and guidance of supernatural religion, was based upon Natural Law, and consequently necessitated an appeal to the human Reason. The most profound philosophical essay was that of Fr. Valensin, S.J., of Lyon, on "The Natural Laws of International Life." With faultless reasoning he showed that neither the "absolute sovereignty of the State," nor the "principle of nationality," nor "the survival of the fittest," nor the "superiority of the white race," were able to uphold the international order required by nature. The "principle of human sociability" was the only true one with, as its result, the constant grouping of human beings united by common consent for the attainment of a common end.

That this universal tendency inherent in man should be entirely negatived by artificial or traditional national frontiers was contrary to reason. Thus, perfectly real and natural as was the individual character of each tribe or nation, nature required no less an organic "international life." His main deductions from this principle were first that, depending on the natural order of human society, international life is amenable to the moral law; secondly that, as international life aims finally at the common good of all, the laws that regulate it must be *universal;* thirdly, "that international life, being unable to find its supreme guarantee anywhere but above itself, and therefore, in the Will to whom creation is wholly subordinate, the natural laws that rule it are divine."

God, His unalterable laws and the absolute subjection of them of all human society—in other words the "Kingship of Christ"—these, we may say, were fundamental realities vividly present or implied throughout all the lectures and deliberations, however technical or speculative, of a memorable week.

But if our French colleagues were at their best in such lucid expositions of philosophical theory, they were not less entertaining to their English visitors when, in several of the lectures, they showed a frankly national point of view in dealing with the obstacles to peace at the present time.

In particular M. René Pinon, political editor of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* surveying the world in pessimistic mood, saw in the unwillingness of Great Britain to pledge herself in advance to definite and immediate military assistance to France for the maintenance of the existing frontiers of Europe, the chief cause of international unrest. This somewhat naïve confession of faith, or rather the lack of it, gave Bishop Bidwell an opportunity, when speaking at a banquet in honour of the foreign guests on Wednesday night, of restoring the balance.

After all, said he, however detailed treaty pledges might be, it was in mutual confidence alone—confidence requiring, as did faith itself, an act of the will—that the hope of international peace and friendship reposed. It has been too easy and too common for Frenchmen to find causes to reproach English statesmen; and his Lordship did well to remind his hearers that mutual trust and confidence expressed simply in an informal entente, and no detailed treaty, brought the British to the side of France in her hour of need in 1914.

He spoke of the deep and real sympathy which English Catholics feel for the Catholics of France, and of the many ties that unite them in addition to the Catholic Faith. "For," he said, turning to the Archbishop of Rouen, "if we are Anglo-Saxons, we are also, my Lord, in a sense the children of your diocese—we are Normans. . . . We have, then, every reason to establish a more intimate union between ourselves and to work for a perfect understanding between our two nations. In that understanding, I am convinced, lies the security of both our beloved countries, and the future well-being of the whole of Europe."

The Catholic University of America was host to the Baltimore Archdiocesan Rural Life Conference on October 28. His Grace, Archbishop Curley presided at the morning sessions. The sessions were well attended by priests and laymen of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, and there were special representatives from the Dioceses of Wilmington, Del., Harrisburg, Richmond, and Raleigh. The University was largely represented. Bishop Shahan, Rector, and Mgr. Pace, Vice-Rector, occupied the chair at two sessions. Members of the professional staff and a particularly large number of students of the Department of Sociology and the entire student body of the Women's Catholic Social Service School were amongst the audience. Rev. Dr. Kerby, Professor of Sociology and Head of the Service School, was one of the speakers. Other notable speakers were Dr. Raymond A. Pearson, President of the University of Maryland, Mr. George Farrell, of the Department of Agriculture, Rev. Charles O'Hara (Indian Head), Rev. Michael A. Irwin, of Newton Grove, N. C., Rev. Dr. Edwin V. O'Hara, Director of the Rural Life Bureau of the N. C. W. C., and Fr. John LaFarge, S.J., of the editorial staff of *America*. We are fortunately able to present elsewhere Father LaFarge's paper, which was one of the outstanding contributions to the success of the Conference.

The program conducted under the presidency of Very Rev. Dr. Albert Smith, editor of the *Baltimore Catholic Review*, reflects great credit upon the Rev. W. Howard Bishop, Director of the Little Flower League, who conducted the Conference last year.

The Sixth International Congress of Philosophy was held at Harvard University from September 13 to 17. This was the first session of the Congress to be held in the United States. Nineteen foreign countries were represented. President Lowell, of Harvard, welcomed those in attendance and President Nicholas Murray Butler, Chairman of the Organizing Committee, greeted the foreign delegates. The Catholic University of America was largely represented, and Rt. Rev. Mgr. Pace, Vice-Rector, presided at the meeting of the Historical Group, at which the topic under discussion was: "Mediaeval Philosophy, with Special Reference to the Problem of Creation." Dr. James H. Ryan, Associate Professor of Philosophy, read a paper: "The New Scholasticism as a Contemporary Philosophy." Other representatives of the University present were Drs. J. J. Rolbiecki, D. A. McLean, C. J. Connolly and Father Charles A. Hart.

Several notable Catholic scholars of Europe addressed the Congress, including Etienne Gilson, of the Sorbonne, Paris, one of the most widely known mediaeval scholars of the Continent, and Leon Noël, a distinguished member of the faculty of Louvain. In addition to those mentioned the following Catholic scholars attended the Congress: Rev. H. Carr, of the University of Toronto; the Rev. Joseph Feldman, of Paderborn, Germany; the Rev. Francis P. LeBuffe, S.J., editor of *Thought;* Virgil Michel, of New York City; the Rev. I. X. Miller Moorhouse, S.J.; the Rev. Gerald B. Phelan, of the University of Toronto; Rev. John S. Zybura, of Colorado Springs, Colo.

Rev. Virgil Michel, O.S.B., reporting the Congress in the *Fortnightly Review* (St. Louis) says:

Divisional meetings were held every morning, four at a time, and general sessions in afternoon and evening. Some of the latter, attended also by outsiders, had an audience of 1,000 persons.

There is no doubt that philosophy is coming back to its own after years of neglect; but because of various conditions, a general judgment about the Congress is difficult.

In comparison with the thought of a generation ago, the discussions showed, that Kant no longer has the strong hold on men's minds that he possessed for a century; and the post-Kantian absolute idealism is dead, save for a coterie of active spirits in Italy. There is also an ever-growing return towards some kind of realism, which is, however, colored and modified by the influence of Kant. Among the sectional meetings of the various days, those on ethics, on medieval thought, on the nature of essence and existence, seemed to draw as large an audience as the three other simultaneously held meetings together.

Again, the critical investigation of scientific concepts is one of the chief interests of philosophy to-day. This is also symptomatic of a reaction against our immediate past. And there would have been many other surprises for the thinker

of a generation ago who should have been suddenly transplanted into the midst of this Congress. Thus a paper at one general meeting, making a very good plea for the transcendence of mind over the physical level, was roundly applauded and very favorably commented on after the meeting.

The American philosophers welcomed the participation of the priests abovementioned in the meetings, and some strongly expressed the hope that the isolation hitherto exercised by Catholic philosophers in the United States might now come to an end. This is in marked contrast to conditions in Germany, where the mere fact of being a Catholic still seems to preclude one from any sympathetic hearing by non-Catholic philosophers. It is even more true of Italy, where the Idealists and Neo-Scholastics are fighting at swords' ends. Two papers read by a representative of the former in several statements reflected an anti-Catholic bias, both intellectual and emotional, that is distinctly out of fashion in the best intellectual and cultural mentality of English-speaking countries.

The French Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Letters announces the receipt of the report of a most interesting expedition during which for the first time aviation has been placed at the service of archeology.

A Jesuit priest, Father Poidebard, has explored the upper Djezire in an aeroplane. He flew over Mesopotamia and Syria and was thus able to recognize thirteen ancient routes and three nuclei marked by "tells" (small mounds raised to serve as bases for monuments in ancient days).

The Academy immediately decided to entrust a new mission to Father Poidebard.

Father Poidebard has spent many years as a missionary in Asia Minor and has published an authoritative book on *Roads of Persia in History.*

The new Constitution of the Catholic University of America was explained to the officials, professors and instructors and proclaimed in force by Most Rev. M. J. Curley, Chancellor, at a meeting of the entire faculty in the auditorium of the Maloney chemical laboratory on October 13.

His Grace explained the Constitution in detail and reviewed the history of the University from "its cradle days" until the attaining of its majority, for [said His Grace] it now ranks among the greatest Catholic Educational Institutions of the world. In conclusion he paid a highly merited and glowing tribute to its "most cultured and capable" Rector, Rt. Rev. Bishop Shahan, and to its distinguished Vice-Rector, Rt. Rev. Mgr. Edward A. Pace.

At the recent competitive examinations of the students of the Belgium universities, five students from Louvain Catholic university received the first prizes respectively in philology, philosophy, law, anatomy-physiology, and in medicine, it was announced by Mgr. Ladeuze, the rector, in his inaugural address a few days ago. Moreover, of the 20 travel scholarships placed at the disposal of the honor graduates of the four universities, eight were awarded to Louvain men,

whilst all six travel scholarships to fellows were won by Louvain post-graduates. Finally, seven of its graduates were designated by the American Educational Foundation to spend a year in post-graduate work at American schools.

After a lapse of centuries, the historic Abbey of Deer, once an important center of monastic life in north-east Scotland, returned to Catholic hands some weeks ago.

The abbey is now only a picturesque mass of ruins.

The estate of Pitfour, in Aberdeenshire, was recently purchased by a speculator in land, who proceeded to re-sell it in portions. The Catholic authorities in Aberdeen negotiated for the ground—about eight and a half acres—on which the old abbey stands, and to-day the purchase was effected. The object in view is the preservation of this ancient relic of ecclesiastical life in Scotland in the Middle Ages.

The Abbey of Deer—the Cistercian Abbey of St. Mary in the Vale of Deer—was founded and endowed by William Comyn, Great Justiciary of Scotland, in 1218 or 1219. It was colonised from Kinloss Abbey in Moray. The Abbot of Deer was a mitred Abbot, and had a seat in the Scottish Parliament, but the House remained subject to the House of Kinloss.

According to the "Book of Buchan," the practical secularisation of Deer began with one Robert Keith. His nephew, a boy of fifteen, succeeded him in the powers and possessions of the Abbot in 1552, and before long began the process of alienation of lands by tacts and gifts to the members of the Keith family, from his father, the Earl Marischal, downwards.

With the transferring of all power and rights to the relatives of the Earl Marischal, the religious work of the Abbey came to an end.

One of the treasures of the Abbey is the famous illuminated MS. *Book of Deer*, containing the whole of St. John's Gospel, portion of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, the Apostles' Creed and portions of the Office for the Visitation of the Sick, all in Latin, as well as various entries in Gaelic. It is believed to have been written about the eighth century by a monk of the Celtic monastery, founded at Deer in the sixth century by St. Colum Cillie, who appointed St. Drostan, a Scot of royal blood, as its first Abbot.

On their way back to Ireland after assisting at the ceremonies at Assisi on the occasion of septcentenary of St. Francis in October, Irish Franciscan pilgrims were present at the re-opening of the famous Franciscan college of St. Antony at Louvain, which was closed by the French revolutionaries 133 years ago.

The college was founded in 1606 by Fr. Florence Conry, afterwards Archbishop of Tuam, and for close on two centuries flourished as a center of religion and learning on the Continent.

After passing through many hands the property was again offered for sale a few years ago. Cardinal Mercier offered the Irish Franciscan Fathers a cordial welcome to their old home, and by the generosity of the Irish people the building was repurchased.

The pilgrims were also able to visit the tombs of many illustrious Irish exiles who lie buried at Louvain.

Among the recent acquisitions of the Catholic University Library are a complete set of valuable documents from the Archives of the Province of Quebec, and a hundred mathematical volumes from the estate of the late Martin J. Browne of New York. In the Browne collection are two very rare volumes af the English translation of the mathematical works of Maria Agnesia, a famous Eighteenth Century professor of mathematics at Bologna.

It is not generally known that the scrolls embodying the freedom of the City of New York presented to the many distinguished personages who have visited this city in recent years, were designed and executed by Malcolm & Hayes, designers, engravers, and printers, at 137 East Forty-third street. His Eminence John Cardinal Bonzano, who came as Papal Legate to the Eucharistic Congress last June, received one of these artistic illuminated scrolls, which he took back with him to Rome. The Pope was so charmed with the parchment that Cardinal Bonzano offered it to His Holiness. The Pontiff accepted the gift and had it placed in the Vatican Library, alongside of the choicest treasures of miniature art.

Naturally the American firm which has produced the work of art so honored feels that their light should not be hid under a bushel. And so they have printed as a booklet that portion of Cardinal Bonzano's account of his audience with Pope Pius which has to do with the said scroll. "Among the Treasures of the Vatican" is a miniature booklet and a precious sample of the work turned out by this exclusive engraving and printing company. It will satisfy public curiosity to learn that C. J. Hayes, one of the foremost scholars of ecclesiastical illuminated art in America, was the artist who designed the unique treasure which so pleased Pope Pius XI, that it now adorns the Vatican Library.

As a change made in the meeting place, from Paray-le-Monial to Einsiedln, (Switzerland) rendered it impossible for the editor to assist at the Ika-Congress as planned, Monsignor Pfeiffer (the President) kindly represented us and sends the following report:

This year's Ika-Congress closed on the 15th of August with a general communion in the Chapel of the world-famous shrine of our Lady of Einsiedeln, Switzerland. The Congress was honored by the blessing of the Holy Father, both in writing and telegraph, as well as by the greetings or personal representation of many princes of the Church. It was under the protectorate of His

Lordship, Dr. G. Schmid von Grueneck, Bishop of the Diocese of Coire, and the Prince-Abbot Dr. Ignatius Staub, O.S.B. of Einsiedeln.

The opening service was held in the Chapel by the representative of His Eminence the Prince-Primate of Hungary with an eloquent address on the liturgical text of the new feast of the Kingship of Christ by the Rev. Dr. Romuald Banz, O.S.B. Rector of the College of Einsiedeln. The first discourse was delivered by Mgr. Meyenberg, Professor of the Seminary at Lucerne, on the subject: "The Kingship of Christ in the Holy Scriptures." He showed the Kingship of God and Christ in its development both as to the internal life of the individual as also to public and social life, by frequent references to Holy Writ from Genesis to the Apocalypse. The second speaker was the Rev. M. Carolfi, O.F.M. of Cortemaggiore, Italy. He proved that the Kingship of Christ in public life is attained only by His rule over individual souls. Fr. E. Claverie, O.P., professor at the University of Fribourg, Switzerland, showed Christ as the source of all human authority. Order is necessary not only in nature but also in social life; hence obedience. But both, rulers and subjects, have human frailities; God therefore only can, as the most perfect, be the foundation of authority. To rule with success, prudence, fortitude and goodness are necessary.

Professor Ebers of the University of Cologne, being unable to be present, sent his manuscript, wherein he proved that it was the Church that created from the barbarian tribes after the migration of nations the cultural unity of Europe. This unity can be maintained only if the Christian principles of solidarity be again practiced in international relations amongst the nations of to-day. Dr. Eberle, editor of *Schoenere Zunkunft*, Vienna, explained in a masterly manner how important it is for Catholics to foster the consciousness of the great truths they possess, truths most important not only for spiritual and cultural life, but also for the social and economic welfare of states. Not compromise but clear-cut Catholic principles will lead to the desired end.

Dr. Doka, editor of *Schweizerische Rundschau*, Zurich, stated that Catholicism as the world religion also ought to enlighten and permeate international life. It is therefore the duty of Catholics to see and work that Catholic values be recognized also in international relations. Prof. Muller, S.J., of the School of Commerce at Antwerp, had a very timely paper on the Christian principles to be observed also in the work of colonization. He was sorry to state that Catholics of the present day are not willing to treat this question, whereas Catholic savants of the 16th century have given us a rich harvest of illuminating and appealing principles. Besides the just acquisition of colonies the most important duty of colonial governments is to aim at the real economic and spiritual welfare of the natives. Fr. Attard, O.F.M., Vicar General of Alexandria, Egypt, related interestingly the missionary conditions in the land of the pyramids. Fr. Basil Monti, O.S.B., read an interesting paper handed in by the St. Peter Claver Sodality on the importance of the Catholic press for the African missions.

Mgr. Dr. Madarāsz, pastor of Budapest, Hungary, spoke on "Christ in the school." No education, he maintained, without morals, no morals without religion. He showed the baneful influence of the school without religion by ex-

amples taken especially from France. In the animated discussion that followed a corresponding Catholic instruction was demanded for schools of all degrees frequented by Catholic youth. Mgr. Pometta, Rector of the Diocesan Seminary of Lugano, held the final conference on "Christ in social life." He emphasized especially the impossibility of creating and maintaining the social and economic equilibrium without solid moral and religious principles.

A telegram of protest against the cruel persecution of the Catholic brethren in Mexico was approved by the meeting. Mgr. Dr. Nicholas Pfeiffer, Canon of the Cathedral at Kosice, Tschechoslovakia, Tovarna u. 3, was elected unanimously President and Corresponding Secretary.

Exercises in observance of Education Week were held in the Auditorium of the Martin Maloney Chemical Laboratory at the Catholic University on Monday, November 8; Wednesday, November 10; and Friday, November 12; from 12 to 1 o'clock. All classes were suspended during the noon hour on those days. Professors and students attended the exercises. The addresses were brief but informative.

Monday, November 8: Rev. Dr. Jordan—Education and Moral Development. Dr. Foran—Catholic Opportunities in Educational Research. Dr. Stock—The Constitution and Freedom of Education.

Wednesday, November 10: Dr. Lennox—The Function of Literature in the Development of Character. Rev. Dr. Edwin Ryan—Cardinal Newman's Idea of an Educated Man. Mr. Deering—The Educational Value of the Drama.

Friday, November 12: Dr. Landry—Religion and Exact Science. Dr. Ward—Some Catholic Chemists. Professor MacKavanagh—What Can the Catholic College do for its Graduates?

Elsewhere we note the statements made by M. Jusserand and Professor Basset as to a declining interest in history. This, evidently does not apply to American ecclesiastical history, and the fact that a deep interest is being manifested in the organizing and development of historical societies for the study of early phases of Catholic history in the United States. The latest organisation is reported from Indiana. Some weeks ago the Indiana Catholic Historical Society was organized at Gibault Hall, Terre Haute, under very favorable auspices. One of the notable addresses at the inauguration was delivered by Fr. Gilbert Garrigan, S.J., of St. Louis University. Fr. Garrigan has been one of our most enthusiastic workers in the field of Catholic History, and he has made several notable contributions to the subject. His two volumes, *The Catholic Church in Chicago* and *Catholic Beginnings in Kansas City* are splendid studies, and his more recent contributions to *Thought* are illuminating. We wish the youthful Indiana every success and hope that it will have a long and useful career. *Floreat et crescat!* It may be of interest to members of the new organisation to know that a valuable work on the beginnings of the Diocese of

Vincennes will appear in the near future. It is being issued under the direction of the writer of this note by a graduate student of Catholic Sisters' College at the Catholic University of America.

A very significant event is reported in connection with the recent celebration of "civic week" in Liverpool, England, by the N. C. W. C. *News Service:*

London, Nov. 1.—A large boat manned by Benedictine monks was rowed to the pierhead at Liverpool and was received by the Lord Mayor and other local dignitaries at the opening of civic week. It was a representation of the first ferry to cross the Mersey instituted by the Benedictines in 1282, and it reminded the city of its Catholic past.

A thousand years ago, when St. Wolstern of Worcester was preaching at Bristol against the slave trade to Ireland, Liverpool was only a collection of fishermen's huts. The city took no part in political life until the middle of the sixteenth century. She maintained and gave to the Pilgrimage of Grace, under the banner of the Five Wounds, 30,000 "tall men and well horsed."

Civic sermons were preached in all the churches during the week.

Gustave Hervé has recently given some interesting details about empty "lay" schools in France which anti-Catholic governments insist on keeping open even though not a single pupil attends.

He says that these schools are not rare, and gives instances at Vernierfontaine, and in the commune of Boyer, Loire, as well as three towns, Loge-Fougereuse, Cheffois, and Menomblet in the Vendée, where schools are maintained, and a teacher installed at the public expense, although there are good and well-attended Catholic schools in the same district.

Not one pupil attends these schools, and the unfortunate teachers have to withstand the abuse heaped upon them by irate taxpayers.

At St. Jean-sur-Vilaine there have been two lay schools during the past thirty years. Between them they have educated one child, the son of a road man, who was forced to go there. It is estimated that the education of that one child has cost the rate-payers 212,000 francs.

Discovery of a baptismal font in which St. Boniface, the apostle of Germany, is believed to have immersed pagans in Hesse, is announced. The font, which is the first of its kind to be brought to light in Germany, was unearthed in a chapel discovered on a mountainside near Fritzair, in Hesse, by Professor Vonderau, an archæologist from Fulda, who found evidences that it had been established by St. Boniface in 750

A. D., the year he founded a Bishopric. Nearby, on the same eminence, the "Bueraberg," the archæologist discovered a fort dating from the period of the conflicts between the Hessians and the Romans.

A House of Studies has recently been established in 177, Iffley Road, Oxford, for the education of Franciscan students.

In setting up this house the Franciscans of to-day have revived the tradition of the ancient Oxford Franciscan School, founded by Blessed Agnellus, whom St. Francis sent to England in 1224. Until suppressed by Henry VIII, this school was the most famous nursery of theologians and missionaries in the whole Franciscan Order.

With the reopening of the Catholic Institute of Paris, scheduled for November 3, a School of Oriental languages was added, with an ancient section for Hebrew, Assyrian, Ancient Coptic, and Hellenistic Greek, and a modern section for Arabic, Syriac, Ethiopic, and Modern Coptic.

A new chair of History of Missions has been founded by a generous donor, which is being filled by the Catholic writer, M. Georges Goyau.

The *Catholic Bulletin*, of St. Paul, Minn., noting that All Saints' Day was the eighty-fifth anniversary of the dedication of the first church in St. Paul, says, editorially:

"It was on Nov. 1, 1841, that Father Lucien Gaultier blessed his little log chapel on Bench street, dedicated it to the Apostle, and gave religion a home and the future capital of the state its name eight years before the territory of Minnesota came into being by act of congress when Alexander Ramsey was commissioned as first territorial governor on April 2, 1849. In 1839, the Right Rev. Mathias Loras, first Bishop of Dubuque, whose diocese then embraced all of what is now the province of St. Paul, came up the river on an Episcopal visit and ministered to the few families he found dwelling at and about old Fort Snelling. 'To the Catholics who had never before seen a priest or Bishop in those remote regions,' said Bishop Loras in a letter that has been preserved, 'our arrival was a cause of great joy.' He promised them a priest and the following year Father Gaultier reached Mendota, then known as St. Peter's, on April 20, 1840. The following spring, assisted by eight willing laymen, Father Gaultier began building the first church on the east bank of the river, six miles below Mendota, in a 'little hamlet of bark-roofed cabins' with a population of less than 200 persons. The log church was small, twenty-five feet long, eighteen feet wide and ten feet high. One window broke the wall at each side and a door at the end overlooked the river. The building stood on ground that was the gift

of two farmers, whose names are well remembered. Vital Guerin and the Benjamin Gervals whose son, Bazille Gervais, the first white child born in St. Paul, died here during the past summer. On All Saints' Day Father Gaultier celebrated Mass for the first time in 'the new basilica' as he gaily described his rude cabin twenty-three years afterwards to Bishop Grace. And it was Father Gaultier's basilica indeed that became our first Cathedral when Joseph Cretin arrived as Bishop on July 2, 1851."

BOOK REVIEWS

A History of England. By Hilaire Belloc. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Vol. I.

Mr. Belloc's is a well-known name in the English-speaking Catholic World. He possesses the gift of presenting Catholic truths in a striking manner, and of flashing new light on familiar principles. He is widely looked upon as one of the foremost spokesmen of the Catholic body. He has indeed ably defended many of the Church's tenets in the field of sociology and politics, and has refuted more than one bold attack upon our Faith. But infallibility is not claimed for him either in his methods or his utterances.

This new work of his, the *History of England*, has elicited much applause. Many reviewers give it not only unstinted but also unqualified praise. They do not seem to have put any of Mr. Belloc's assertions to the test, but have taken the correctness of the great author's historical doctrine for granted. Other reviewers are not so sure about this point. The Rev. Herbert Thurston, S.J., devotes two articles of the *Month*, some thirty pages in length, to a very exhaustive discussion of several assertions which are fundamental in Mr. Belloc's work. (Vol. 146, "Celt, Roman or Teuton," pp. 100 ff., and "Gothic an Imaginary German Tongue?" pp. 100 ff.) As it would be impossible to enter into an equally thorough examination of all the remainder of Mr. Belloc's work, we shall confine our review to several other individual points, pertinent to the entire volume.

On page 106 we find this passage: "The Church was steeped in the Graeco-Roman civilization, arose in it, continues in it to this day. It was a Roman civilized thing; and so far from opposition between it and the tradition of Roman civilization (by which Europe still lives), there was and is an identity between them." This idea of the identity of The Church and Roman civilization, which underlies a large part of the book, cannot find our approval. The Church is in no way identified with any kind of civilization. She was born, according to a plan of Divine Providence, into the Graeco-Roman world with its special culture. But she becomes no less identified with Chinese culture by the labors

of our missionaries, than she was identified with the Roman. It means degrading her to say that she was no more than "a Roman civilized thing." Mr. Belloc holds a thesis exactly the opposite to that which Godefroy Kurth, the famous Catholic historian of Belgium, propounds so eloquently in his work, "The Church at the Turning Points of History," in which he shows how the Church successively broke through the barriers set up by nations and their peculiar culture. The Church of Jesus Christ is not a Roman civilized thing, nor a Chinese or Hindoo civilized thing. She is first and foremost not so much international than supra-national. Her doctrine, her moral laws fit in excellently with every people and with every civilization. She will ever try however to eliminate what is immoral or otherwise blameworthy in the customs, manners, and institutions of the various nations.

One cannot approve of the reintroduction of the term "Dark Ages" into the historical parlance. This term has never lost the bad odor of its anti-Catholic origin. It was chosen to designate the whole period of the Middle Ages as a time of a literary and cultural blank between the glorious age of Roman civilization and the coming of its revival in the pagan, or at any rate non-Catholic Renaissance. The "darkness" of these thousand years was to have been caused by the influence of Christianity. It rouses confidence in present-day historical methods, that this absolutely wrong view is no longer adhered to by responsible historians, Catholic or non-Catholic. The term "Dark Ages" is avoided. The *Oxford Dictionary* in a volume printed in 1897 still states, and not without a certain reserve, that it is "a term sometimes applied to the Middle Ages to mark the intellectual darkness characteristic of the time." The latest edition of the *Encyclopedia Brittanica,* which certainly nobody will accuse of pro-Catholic leanings, does not use the term at all. The *Catholic Encyclopedia,* a genuine historical authority, also gets along without it, and merely refers the reader, by an entry in the Index, to Middle Ages. The *New International Encyclopedia* states that "Dark Ages" is a name *formerly* applied either to the whole of the Middle Ages or to the earlier part of that period.

As far as the present reviewer can discover, Mr. Belloc is the first Catholic to employ this opprobrious term at all. He evi-

dently means to install it permanently in historical parlance. He uses it throughout the book as a designation for the time from the fifth century to about 1066 (the coming of William the Conqueror). The term Middle Ages, which has entirely shed its original anti-Catholic dress, he confines to the period from 1066 to 1500, thus introducing a new terminology and a new division. We sincerely hope the Middle Ages will remain "the great thousand years," when the Catholic religion was the sole Faith of Europe, and the Dark Ages will remain where they are now, namely in the obscurity becoming the ignorance or unfairness of those who first coined the term. At any rate no Catholic should lend his hand to reintroduce them.

It is natural that the author, after recounting the events in Britain to the moment that the Roman government become extinct in the island, should make a survey of the development of things on the continent. It was the time of the Migration of Nations. Our high school textbooks, the Church histories we possess in the English language, the larger works on secular history or on special phases of secular and ecclesiastical history, tell us that a number of Teutonic nations under their national or tribal kings broke through the defences of the Roman Empire, perpetrated an enormous amount of devastation, sacked the capital of the world and countless other cities and towns, took possession in some places of one-third of the estates of the citizens, in other places of all of them, settled on these lands as a new ruling class, and erected several kingdoms on once Roman soil. Commercial intercourse, especially the transportation of agricultural products, became disorganized, and great misery ensued. The educational system, too, was deranged, and in most localities ceased to function. The old population, already on the decrease, diminished still more rapidly. It unlearned the elements of civilization faster than the new mixed population could learn them. But the Church, through her bishops and clergy, and more through her monasteries, saved what could be saved. Civilization gradually, though very slowly, gained a firm hold upon the new population, and an upward movement began.

This representation is not the fiction of prepossessed writers. These facts are known from sources, which in our days are at

everybody's disposal and can be inspected and examined in every larger library of the land. These facts have been so represented, not only in the twentieth or nineteenth century, but as far back as there were men who made it their business to learn the events of the past. No less a man than Cardinal Baronius wrote them up essentially in the same manner as early as the year 1600. Any one who will go to the great cardinal's volumes (*Annales Ecclesiastici*) for the period of about 375 to 600 A. D. will find that Baronius not only gives his own view, but corroborates it by copious and very extensive quotations from the original sources.

All these disastrous facts are known to Mr. Belloc as well as to us. But he conceals them from his readers. The movement is to look less disorderly; the Roman state is to appear less quickly disintegrating; more than this, all action is to proceed somehow not from outsiders but from the Empire itself. He bases his own representation on the fact, that most, if not all, of those barbarian kings accepted some military or other Roman title from the helpless emperor, and thereby in name became incorporated in the Roman state or army. He leaves out of sight entirely that they meanwhile obeyed the emperor or fought against him or against one another, just as their own interest suggested. He calls them persistently Roman generals, and adds (p. 181) that they were Roman generals first and foremost. Nothing is more incorrect (or more amusing). Think of the Roman general Alaric, first and foremost Roman, ordering his Visigoths to advance upon Rome, scale its walls, and subject it to a three-days sacking; or of the Roman general Genseric, devastating with his Vandals the fertile Roman provinces of Spain, conquering from the regular Roman army the rich lands of Roman Africa, depriving the inhabitants of their possessions, crossing over to Italy and plundering Rome a second time for two weeks; or of the Roman general Ricimer deposing Emperor Avitus, raising and deposing three other emperors in succession, and finally subjecting Rome to a third horrible sacking; or of the Roman general Odoacer, deposing without further ado the last of the phantom emperors, and declaring that the countries of western Europe needed no emperor any longer. All of these according to Belloc were "Roman generals first and foremost."

These leaders indeed craved the Roman titles, because they thus acquired a claim to the submission of the inhabitants of the provinces they occupied. The emperors were no less anxious to bestow such titles, because they thus saved at least the appearance of their overlordship. But that is really all there was to it.

It makes no difference, that before these irruptions took place the Roman army was largely recruited from beyond the border, especially from Germany. The barbarians thus enlisted became regular legionaries, having no other allegiance than their military duties towards their Roman commanders. The men of Alaric, Genseric, etc., were, on the contrary—first and foremost—members of their tribes and subjects of their kings. They always formed separate bodies. If the advantages they expected were not forthcoming, they turned their swords against Roman soldier and civilian. They marched up and down the empire with frightful devastations, and settled in some fair part of it, that is, if they were not dislodged by some other tribe. To get them out of the way, the emperors cheerfully bestowed the same dignities on rival kings and let them fight it out among themselves. Odoacer, for instance, was such a Roman general, who had forced the people of Italy to give up one-third of their estates to his men. The Emperor gladly allowed another Roman general of the same stamp, King Theodoric of the Ostrogoths, to dislodge him, whereupon the Ostrogoths took possession of the estates formerly held by Odoaker's men. (*)

All these facts, these two centuries of trouble and woe and destruction, are merely alluded to by Mr. Belloc, and that in a manner which is utterly misleading. The central Roman authorities he says found it more and more difficult to govern distant provinces. So the "army" provided government for these provinces. This certainly sounds very peaceful. The unsuspecting reader will have the impression that in order to unburden the

* In a footnote (p. 138) the author mentions the sacking of Rome by Alaric "the Goth." He says nothing of the fact that this "Roman general" had been devastating the Balkan peninsula as far as down into Greece, had been threatening Constantinople, and crushed the armies of two emperors. Mr. Belloc never calls these leaders kings, although all the sources do so. None of those ancient writers, who had first-hand information of the events ever give them their Roman titles in the course of the narrative, though they mention the fact that the emperor had bestowed upon them certain dignities and titles. It is impossible to see how Mr. Belloc can know better than they.

central government the "Roman generals," out of sheer pity it would seem, took upon themselves the civil administration in addition to their military duties. Things proceeded in the very opposite way. The kings of the invading peoples, who also figured as Roman generals, sat down in the best provinces of the Empire and prevented every influence and action on the part of the central government, besides depriving it of all revenues due from these provinces.

We are now in a position to appreciate such distorted statements as these. "The local commands grew more and more independent; the auxiliaries became more and more important compared with the regulars." (Page 160.) First, the "local commands" were not very local. They usurped as a rule entire sections of the Empire, all Spain, all northern Africa, all Italy. Second, the "auxiliaries" is a very misleading term for the hordes, often ten and twenty thousand strong, and marching where they pleased with women and children and belongings. They did not *become* important, they *were* important.

"The raiding bands were always at last destroyed by the Roman armies, regular and auxiliary (auxiliaries in Mr. Belloc's language always meaning some invading nation with which Rome had come to some sort of understanding and whose kings had received some Roman title). This is not correct. The "raiding bands" of the Visigoths, Burgundians, Franks, Lombards, Suevi, were not destroyed. The Ostrogoths were expelled from Italy after residing there for sixty years, and the Vandals from northern Africa after a hundred years.

This chapter in Mr. Belloc's work "Introduction to the Dark Ages," is a very condensed summary of the greater part of the same author's book *Europe and the Faith.* Referring to this work the Right Rev. Abbot Cuthbert Butler, O.S.B., states in *Benedictine Monachism:* "Mr. Hilaire Belloc's book, *Europe and the Faith,* traverses implicitly the picture given here. It must suffice to say that the three contemporaneous records that are most obviously to hand . . . make an impression hard to reconcile with Mr. Belloc's reading of the facts."

The Migration of Nations is more than an event. It lasted about two centuries, extended over thousands and thousands of

square miles, and affected millions of people. To strike out new paths in its interpretation requires the patient analyzing study of a large number of Latin sources, and the result would be an "impression hard to reconcile with Mr. Belloc's reading of the facts." (Second Edition, page 387; quoted from *Fortnightly Review*, 1924, page 443).

What conclusion one might draw from the mistakes exposed here as to Mr. Belloc's methods and his capacity to handle such historical subjects, I leave to others to decide. I wish, however, to state, as Father Thurston does at the end of his second article, that if I had spent my space in dealing with a few of Mr. Belloc's allegations, it is not because there are not many, indeed very many, other points of weakness that call for comment, points which have not been touched upon either by Father Thurston or any other reviewer.

FRANCIS S. BETTEN, S.J.

White Servitude in Pennsylvania: Indentured and Redemption Labor in Colony and Commonwealth. By Cheesman A. Herrick, Ph.D., LL.D. Philadelphia: John Joseph McVey, 1926. Pp. ix + 330.

The author records his view that the subject he has treated with such elaboration is worth the toil of twenty-eight years spent upon it: "Pennsylvania was the typical proprietary colony; colonial administration and the relations between an English settlement in North America and the mother country were clearly shown in Pennsylvania's history. Knowledge of the social development of Pennsylvania—how the colony was planted and grew—is well-nigh indispensable to one who would understand the earlier period in the evolution of American democracy. Pennsylvania's labor system was at the center of her economic and political life, it was vitally related to her immigration; Pennsylvania's attitude towards slavery and her industrial future were profoundly affected by her labor system" (Preface). In successive chapters he discusses the influence of labor on colonial development; the status of indentured labor in Pennsylvania before 1700; the need of indentured servants created by the demand for settlers; the desire for white servants because of diversified in-

dustry; the demand for them increased by sentiment against Negro Slavery. He next treats of the supply of servants under indenture: at home ("Colonial administration and justice sought to dispose of offenders, dependents, and unfortunates, and adopted a plan to which the modern convict labor systems of certain American States may be likened" p. 100) and from abroad, and especially from Great Britain and Germany, and in individual chapters takes up next the sale and distribution of servants, runaway servants, and the enlistment of servants for Colonial wars. Concluding chapters treat of the later history and disappearance of redemption labor and the results of white servitude in Pennsylvania. Appendices give the laws affecting white servitude in Pennsylvania, emigration record from Great Britain, and the author's lists of primary and secondary sources.

There are twenty full-page illustrations (inserts), including a typical indenture, a redemption agreement, an early record of the arrival of servants, a petition against a runaway servant, a servant's petition for better treatment, certificate of a servant's character, and the like.

This is the dryest possible summary of the contents of a book which nevertheless, alike in its material dress and in its well-written, well-documented, and anecdotally diversified character, is doubtless as attractive a volume as the subject-matter could well permit. One can easily fancy that many others besides professed historians would find great pleasure in its pages.

The book has, however, a special interest for all lovers of history in the fact that it illustrates delightfully the declaration of Oliver Wendell Holmes to the effect that every professional man ought to have a hobby. Dr. Herrick has been president of Girard College—that large aggregation of multitudinous and multiform activities—for the major part of the twenty-eight years he has devoted to his work on White Servitude in Pennsylvania. Despite the executive duties thus imposed on him and his obvious success in their performance, he has been chairman for many years of the Commission on Scholarships of the City of Philadelphia, and has engaged in other learned and literary activities. But evidently history has been his hobby, the refreshment of spirit he has found amidst his many engrossing executive labors. We

might have conjectured as much from his *Life of Stephen Girard*, as well as from his membership in the American Historical Association, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and the Presbyterian Historical Society. But the fact is perhaps made even more evident in the concluding words of his Preface to the volume under review: "Edward Gibbon, in the preface of his *Decline and Fall*, said that diligence and accuracy are the only merits which the writer of history may claim. These merits may be coveted by the humblest writer in the historical field. For twenty-eight years this study has been a constant companion and friend. It has twice been rewritten in its entirety. Some parts of it have been rewritten four times. It has become an intimate, almost sacred, part of the writer's life. Here a little, there a little, it has slowly taken form. For so long a time, in fact, has the work been under the writer's hand that he yields reluctantly to the suggestion of finality implied in its publication. The work is published in the hope that it may prove not altogether uninteresting, and possibly of some value." The reviewer thinks that this modestly expressed hope is justified in both of its aspects.

H. T. HENRY.

Roman Education from Cicero to Quintilian. By Aubrey Gwynn, S.J. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Pp. 260.

Father Gwynn presents in this volume what he conceives to be the general principles which underlie all Greek and Roman theories of education. He promises a later volume on the history of the Roman schools under the Empire, to supplement this treatment of the more theoretical aspect of his subject.

This work is extremely well written. It gives evidence at once of wide reading in the sources themselves and in such secondary works as in any way throw light on the subject at hand. All this material has been well sifted and woven into a very pleasing and accurate narrative. While a great deal of the actual information presented here may be found elsewhere, it has never before been presented in quite the same way.

The bibliography is quite complete, but I am surprised to find therein several striking defects. For example the first volume of Sandys' *History of Classical Scholarship* is given as of the year

1906 (2nd edition). The last work that Professor Sandys completed just before his death several years ago was a third edition of this volume.

Father Gwynn's work, however, is to be recommended highly to the general reader of cultivated taste and the specialist as well; and we look forward to the appearance of the later volume which he has promised.

ROY J. DEFERRARI.

A Reconstruction of the Old-Latin Text or Texts of the Gospels Used by Saint Augustine. Cambridge: University Press. Pp. xxviii + 177.

The author has attempted to reconstruct the four-fold Gospel as quoted by St. Augustine in the first fifty of his one hundred and eighteen works, namely those which he wrote before the year A. D. 400, by which time it is generally agreed that he had adopted the Vulgate as the source of his citations. The main question involved is, at what point, in the preparation of which of his works, did the Vulgate become established in the memory and use of Augustine as the source of his citations. That the Vulgate had been not only received but also approved by Augustine we know from his letter to Jerome, written in 403. And while we may say that Augustine wished to make the Vulgate the source of his citations from the moment of its publication, yet naturally he could never completely put out of his mind the old version in which he had so deeply steeped himself. It is apparent, however, from the author's work, that Augustine gradually increased his familiarity with and accordingly his quotations from the Vulgate. There are also several other minor questions involved. While the author has gathered his material diligently and arranged it carefully, I cannot say that he has set forth the significance of it all with sufficient clarity. There is a certain vagueness about the discussion which breeds uncertainty and diffidence in the reader.

ROY J. DEFERRARI.

Mankind, Nation and Individual from a Linguistic Point of View. By Otto Jespersen. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. Pp. 221.

It is the task of science to collect single facts and combine them into great wholes in order to discover general laws, and

on the other hand to throw a light from the whole over the otherwise isolated units in order to explain them. This the author has endeavored to do in the field of linguistics as indicated in the title.

He has endeavored to show that something common to all mankind lies concealed behind the varied multiplicity of phenomena. Common to all, in the main, is the mutual play of individual and community. Everywhere are the same conditions governing the power or the importance of the individual in face of what is conventionally "correct" in language: everywhere a movement from small to great linguistic communities: similar political, social, literary and geographical causes, similar conditions of habitation and communication leading to the development and diffusion of great national languages. The individual's reaction to the norm leads to the invention of slang, which presents similar traits in Paris, London, New York and Copenhagen. In the author's discussion of taboo he is able to jump from Greenland to Madagascar and find kindred customs, resting on a common natural foundation. Schoolboys in Europe and Maoris in New Zealand are found to take delight in the same kind of concealment—languages, and religious language and poetical language appear to have many common features wherever on the earth's surface they have sprung up. These in the main are the results of this interesting and well-written book. The author's name is a surety for careful scholarship.

The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire. By M. Rostovtzeff. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Pp. xxv + 695.

We have at hand a number of very good surveys of the foreign policy of the Roman Emperors, of the constitutional history of the Roman Empire, of the system of administration, both civil and military, and of the organization of the army. Valuable work has been done in describing the municipal life of Italy and of some of the provinces, and attempts have been made to present complete pictures of the historical development of some of the provincial areas under Roman rule. We have not, however,

a single book or monograph treating of the social and economic life of the Roman Empire as a whole and tracing the main lines of its evolution. Valuable contributions exist which deal with one or another partial problem or with some special period, but most of these have been written from the antiquarian and not from the historical, point of view. No one has endeavored to connect the social and economic evolution of the Empire with its constitutional and administrative development or with the home and foreign policy of the Emperors. The present volume is the first attempt of the kind.

The distribution of the matter of the book and its treatment is as follows: The first chapter, dealing with the late Republic, is a mere sketch. The author, however, promises a more comprehensive examination of the topic in connection with a study of the social and economic life of the Hellenistic period in general. The next two chapters, on Augustus and on the military tyranny of the Julii and Claudii, are not so detailed as those on the second and third centuries, because the author is able to refer the reader to modern books where the subject is thoroughly treated and the sources are quoted in full. The core of the book is the portion (Chaps. IV-XI) dealing with the second and third centuries, which are the most neglected periods in the history of the Roman Empire. The last chapter, again a sketch, is designed to illustrate the difference between the social and economic structure of the early and of the late Roman Empire. Here the author deals with the perennial problem of the decay of Rome. This is a most interesting discussion. The author summarizes and dismisses as inadequate the various theories thus far advanced for the decline and fall of the Roman Empire, and he takes a rather pessimistic view of the question of the decay of civilizations in general. He says: "The evolution of the ancient world has a lesson and a warning for us. Our civilization will not last unless it be a civilization not of one class, but of the masses. The Oriental civilizations were more stable and lasting than the Greco-Roman, because, being chiefly based on religion, they were nearer to the masses. Another lesson is that violent attempts at levelling have never helped to uplift the masses. They have destroyed the upper classes, and resulted in accelerating

the process of barbarization. But the ultimate problem remains like a ghost, ever present and unlaid. Is it possible to extend a higher civilization to the lower classes without debasing its standard and diluting its quality to the vanishing point? Is not every civilization bound to decay as soon as it begins to penetrate the masses?"

The work is a splendid example of the historical science. It is accurately and attractively written, and, when the time is ripe for the writing of a complete history of Rome in its manifold aspects, Prof. Rostovtzeff's work will be of necessary and invaluable assistance.

ROY J. DEFERRARI.

The Early Architectural History of the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela. By Kenneth John Conant. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926. Pp. vii + 85.

In his preface the author tells us that his text is somewhat like a running commentary on part of the *Historia de la Santa Apostólica Metropolitana Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela*, by the Canon Don Antonio Lopez Ferreiro. For centuries this cathedral has been one of the most famous shrines for pilgrims in all Christendom. Only the Pope can dispense from a vow to visit the tomb of St. James Compostela. It is supposed to contain the relics of St. James the Greater, brother of the Beloved Disciple. It is generally thought that he preached the Gospel in Spain, although some serious historians strongly deny the assertion.

However, since the very dawn of the middle ages, the Spaniards have given unstintingly of their best to erect and beautify this famous cathedral in the northwestern portion of their peninsula. The present structure was begun in the eleventh century by Dom Diego Pelaez, who became archbishop about 1070. How long it was in building is hard to say. But we can see that each succeeding era added its quota to the completion of the edifice, so that the Romanesque structure at present bears traces of many a conflicting style of architecture.

The sixteen pages of plates and plans give weight to the volume as a work of scientific investigation. The many beautiful

illustrations add interest to a text which reveals no small amount of labor in its compilation. The book should be of absorbing interest to the student of ecclesiastical history and art. Nothing has been spared on its typography by the publishers. A good index enhances its value for intelligent reference.

J. F. L.

Historic Churches of the World. Illustrated. By Robert B. Ludy, M. D. Boston, Mass.: The Stratford Company. Pp. vii + 325.

The author of this volume is a member of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Besides an enlightening text, he has given us about one hundred and thirty-two splendid illustrations. They depict pre-Christian shrines, Catholic cathedrals, and non-Catholic churches of both the New and the Old World. Of course we are not surprised to see thus graphically emphasized the substantial contributions that were made to religious architecture during the Middle Ages. The fine flowering of artistic talent during those ages of faith found ample expression in stone and marble as well as on canvas.

The present volume should be of immense help to travellers and students of art. A careful perusal of it by an ordinary reader will increase his powers of appreciation, by making him more intelligent concerning the most historic churches of the world. In these pages, he will find an account of Solomon's temple beside that of the temple of Edfu and the Golden Pagoda. Every art lover will be pleased to see even this short description of old St. Peter's in Rome. The scene of Charlemagne's crowning on that eventful day of the year 800 cannot fail to interest the student of church history.

While all the churches and chapels of importance that one meets up and down Europe have here a setting, the art-loving American will appreciate the splendid representation from the New World. The Spanish missions of California, the elegant cathedrals of Mexico, the numerous shrines of Catholic Canada, have all contributed their share to the world's wealth of architectural beauty. We regret that comparatively so few of the

Catholic churches of the United States receive notice. This country of ours is literally dotted with exquisite specimens of ecclesiastical architecture, all raised to honor the guest of our tabernacles. American Catholics are as great church builders as were their elder brethren in the Faith during the medieval period.

"If association is one of the elements of beauty in churches," as the author says, then we can not help feeling the absence of old St. Peter's in Barclay Street, New York City, and the Cathedral in Baltimore. Surely they would not be out of place in company with Holy Trinity, New York City, and St. George's Methodist Episcopal Church, Philadelphia.

However, we are grateful for what Dr. Ludy has given us. The text reveals erudition and keen artistic discrimination. When closing the volume one can not help marvelling again at the world's debt to the Church in art as well as in every other phase of human endeavor.

J. F. L.

Mahnungen zur Innerlichkeit. Eine Urschrift des Buches von der Nachfolge Christi. Herausgegeben von Paul Hagen. Max Schmidt-Remhild. Lübeck.

An animated pen war has been waging for three centuries concerning the real author of the famous *Imitatio Christi* commonly or perhaps generally attributed to Thomas à Kempis. In the course of the struggle about forty men have been named and found defenders. At present these names have dwindled down to Thomas, born in the town of Kempen in the lower Rhineland, a member of the Congregation of the Brethren of Common Life; and John Gerson, a learned Frenchman, one time Chancellor of the University of Paris. This is not the place to enter into a discussion as to the merits of each claim. The present booklet, however, gives a new angle to the controversy. Mr. Hagen thinks that the author (whom he implicitly supposes to have been Thomas à Kempis) did not in the true sense of the word write the book, but based it on an older work, which he partly embodied, partly revised and enlarged. In the city library of Lübeck Mr. Hagen discovered a Low-German text in two

manuscripts dating from the fifteenth century, which had belonged to a convent of Sisters of Common Life existing in that city until the time of the Reformation. The text contains sixty chapters, which correspond to the Second Book of the *Imitatio* and the greater part of the Third. There is in them a different style. All the parts of each chapter bear a close relation to its heading; the language is more forceful and yet at the same time more simple and quiet than in the other parts of the *Imitatio*. The author of the other parts is of a more fervid and emotional nature, and gives vent to his feelings in more exuberant expressions. In the carefully worded German translation of the sixty chapters one finds unquestionably the qualities which Mr. Hagen claims for them. Taken as a whole they are a concise, well-organized piece of writing with a peculiarly simple and somewhat rugged beauty. These and several other points of difference observed in the various sections lead Mr. Hagen to conclude that these sixty chapters and some more much smaller fragments existed before the writing of the *Imitatio* and were gathered by Thomas à Kempis and augmented in his own way. Whether this conclusion is fully justified, the present reviewer does not dare to affirm or deny. But the matter is no doubt well worth serious consideration.

FRANCIS S. BETTEN, S.J.

Latin and Greek in College Entrance and College Graduation Requirements. By Brother Giles of the Xaverian Brothers, 1926. Catholic University, Washington, D. C.

This book is a very exhaustive and careful compilation of numberless facts gathered from the catalogues of educational institutions. The title page designates it as a doctorial dissertation, and we have no doubt that it brought the doctor's hat to its assiduous author. It has, however, a governmental character, since the U. S. Commissioner of Education wrote and signed the Foreword. He states that the Bureau of Education requested Brother Giles to "undertake the investigation of the relation of Latin and Greek to college entrance and graduation requirements." The stress laid in our times upon scientific and other

"modern" subjects created the impression, that Latin and Greek have lost their place in the field of higher education. The classics have indeed been crowded out of many institutions. But the number of schools in which they still hold a very honorable place is greater than many of us think. On the whole, however, the institutions under private auspices have clung to them with greater tenacity than those under public control. Worthy of special mention is the brief historical sketch of Latin and Greek in the entrance and graduation requirements in the colleges and universities of the United States.

The Foreword informs us that this investigation was restricted to "a well-selected list of universities and colleges." We wonder on what principle this selection was made. The number of Catholic institutions included is only about half a dozen. We have reason to presume that, had it been larger, the position of the classics in private institutions would show to even better advantage.

FRANCIS S. BETTEN, S.J.

New England Captives Carried to Canada between 1677 and 1760 during the French and Indian Wars. By Emma Lewis Coleman. Portland, Maine. Printed by The Southworth Press, 1925. 2 Vols.

These two volumes continue the work of Miss C. Alice Baker who, in 1897, published *True Stories of New England Captives Carried to Canada During the Old French and Indian Wars.* The field of history which concerns the Indian captivities has been practically untouched. Personal narratives by returned captives form almost the entire body of books that have been published on the subject. Miss Coleman, who worked with Miss Baker on all her investigations, has fallen heir to her unfinished notes and, by adding her own recent investigations, produces a compilation which is of inestimable value to genealogists.

The people of New England who were taken captive by the Indians were usually inhabitants of frontier towns. The Indians who waged warfare against them did so largely as allies of the French who had taught them Christianity but who had difficulty

in controlling their natural savage naivete. The charge has been made, for example in the matter of Father Rasles, that the French missionaries encouraged the Indians to wreak vengeance on the English colonists for they were waging holy war against the enemies of Faith. The missionaries are not entirely cleared of this charge in Miss Coleman's book. Nor should it be forgotten that inhabitants of frontier towns two hundreds years ago, whether French or English, were not protected by laws which we should expect to find to-day.

Those who were taken captive were, of course, taken against their will. It should not be inferred from that that they were always cruelly treated after they reached Canada. On the contrary, many were so well treated, even by the Indians, as well as by the French, that they embraced the religion of their captors and some did not care to return to their homes. Many married in Quebec and remained there, and several young girls became nuns, leading happy and beautiful lives. Perhaps the remembrance that some of their own kindred became French and Catholic caused the New England citizens to receive the French assistance in the Revolution more gracefully than they otherwise would have after the Quebec Act had brought prejudices to the surface again. Certainly any tabulation of converts to the Catholic Church among the native American people should include these hundreds who were baptized, married and buried in the Faith in Canada. Miss Coleman herself begins her story with the traditional account of the foundation of Montreal as the result of visions to three different leaders to fulfill God's will in the evangelization of the new world. The conclusion can be very logically drawn from her own pages that, if the story of the revealed will of God be true in that, then the winning of so many souls from error was the partial fulfillment of the same will.

The two volumes are really a publication of the church records in Canada, supplemented by any other allusions that could be found about the individuals who were taken captive. No greater tribute could be paid to the fidelity of the Canadian priests to their duties in the early days than this almost monotonous reiteration of their fulfillment of their duties as attested

by their own records. The coöperation of the priests and nuns of the present day from "Mr. Forbes" (the late Bishop Forbes of the White Fathers of Africa) to the Ursulines is also noteworthy in such a difficult piece of historical investigation as this. Miss Coleman's bibliographical references are not always easy to follow but she has achieved a publication consisting almost entirely of valuable source material which can well be used as a basis for a critical historical study.

M. T. M.

France and New England. By Allan Forbes and Paul F. Cadman. Boston. State Street Trust Company. 1925. Volume I. Issued in commemoration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Battle of Bunker Hill and the one hundredth anniversary of the laying of the corner-stone of Bunker Hill Monument by Lafayette.

The historical brochures issued through the State Street Trust Company by its president, Mr. Allan Forbes, are always interesting. The present volume, well illustrated, and completed without stinting either resources or care, maintains the standard readers have learned to expect. Mr. Forbes is a dilettante rather than scholar in history, devoting as much attention to trivial and merely interesting incidents as to the really important, but he is an accurate and enthusiastic guide through the places that interest him and his active and personal patronage of the American history field marks him a leader among American men of means whom others would do well to emulate.

France and New England is a rather large subject—much larger than this volume. France and England and New France and New England had so many interests in common economically and geographically from the period of colonization that occasional manifestations of friendship in spite of religious and linguistic differences were inevitable. This book, to be followed by another on the same general subject, consists of several distinct papers on outstanding incidents of friendship between the countries. No synthesis of the whole subject is attempted, but quotations from personal diaries together with first hand de-

scriptions of people, places and objects, when they can be had, characterize each of the papers.

The first chapter describes Lafayette's eight visits to Boston. The first was made in 1788, on horseback from Newport to confer with his cousin, Admiral d'Estaing, who was in Boston Harbor. The last visit, contrasting so strongly with the arduous necessity of the first, in its triumphant reception throughout New England, was made to lay the corner-stone of Bunker Hill Monument in 1825. The visits between were progressively warm and increasingly brilliant as they were marked by the realization of the natives of the ability and sincerity of the French assistance under the genial and diplomatic personality of the young French general.

Few men, baptized and buried in the Catholic Church, were so affectionately regarded by the stern Calvanists who formed New England as was Lafayette. His sincerity, his unusual generosity, his ability at sensing the logic of republican government, together with all his admirable personal qualities won him many friends among the country's first citizens. In fact he was so free from prejudices himself that he disarmed possible antagonists before trouble threatened. At one time when he found it necessary to travel on Sunday in Maine, an unpardonable breach of regulations, Lafayette compromised by attending divine service in the Second Parish Unitarian Church at Biddeford. Again, in 1824, on his last visit, he expressed a wish to attend Brattle Street Meeting House in Boston and sit in Governor Hancock's pew, declaring, "There I used to attend the services of my good friend, Dr. Cooper, and I should feel strange in any other place of worship" (p. 32). It is well known that he became a Mason, doubtless to please his friend, George Washington. The Masons had not then been so long condemned by the Church, but excommunication was the penalty then as now. He must have made whatever amends were required to be buried with Mass at the Church of the Assumption, Paris, and interred in Picpus Cemetery, now watched and prayed over by the nuns of the Sacred Heart.

The contacts made in France for the purpose of completing the personal side of Lafayette's character, including visits to

his birthplace, homes, and final resting-place, were made by Mr. Paul F. Cadman, a captain in the American Expeditionary Forces, who wrote the chapters on the French material. Mr. Cadman also made investigations of Rochambeau's life, whose story occupies the second half of the book.

Maréchal Rochambeau was intended for the priesthood and was preparing to receive tonsure until he became sole heir by the sudden death of his brother. Thereafter he led a valiant soldier's life, steadfastly fulfilling his duty wherever it called him, living and dying a loyal son of the Church. Condemned to be guillotined because his appointment of maréchal had been made by the king, he was saved by chance the day before Robespierre fell. The fury of the revolutionists was not congenial to his ordered taste and he who had done so much in the cause of democracy retired from public life to write his memoirs. He had never had time in his army life to return to the United States as a guest to receive public expression of gratitude but his name has not been forgotten in New England according to the testimony of Mr. Forbes' book.

The most important part of the book is the last chapter on the routes of the French army during the Revolution. Mr. Forbes has personally covered the whole route of march through New England and visited each of the camp sites. Much care has been taken to derive from local histories every reference to the camps of the French soldiers, and to locate from rare maps in the Library of Congress and other places, every position they occupied as far as possible. This particular feature of the French occupation has not been adequately presented hitherto and Mr. Forbes has made a real contribution to Revolutionary history in this matter.

References to the burial of French soldiers in old cemeteries of West Hartford, Waterbury and Norwich, as well as Newport, Providence and Boston are of interest, as well as references to the Masses said through Connecticut by the French army chaplains, usually marking the first time the Holy Sacrifice was offered in the towns visited.

The history of toleration, now looming so large as a field of investigation, finds an important chapter in this story of the

French army encampment in New England and the consequent fraternizing of the soldiers and citizens as individuals fighting in a common cause. The personal attachments between some of the soldiers and the daughters of the communities, the diplomatic courtesies exchanged, as, for example, the description by Desandrouins (p. 157) of the solemn chanting of the Psalms at a concert in Hartford as a compliment to the French guests—the occasional naming of children in New England families for the officers, the generosity with which the French supported industry financially, all substantiate the prophecy of the chaplain, Abbé Robin, quoted on page 150 "Whatever will be the successes of this army, it will always have the glory of having left on this country immortal impressions and of having made for all time the name of France precious—a work more flattering and perhaps more difficult than that of winning battles and making conquests."

M. T. M.

The Life of the Venerable Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey. By Cecil Kerr. New York and London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1926. Pp. ix+180. With two Plates.

A Foreword assures us that this book has been written "in the hope of increasing the devotion to our martyrs, although it was not granted to Philip Howard actually to shed his blood, yet did undoubtedly lay down his life, after long and weary suffering for the sake of Christ." This plea is seemingly the only valid reason for its existence. The singular career of Philip Howard has been dealt with in several volumes more adequately than in this compilation. Yet it may possibly serve its purpose. The book is valuable rather for the sidelights it casts upon the heroic Fathers Campion and Southwell of the Society of Jesus. A full chapter is devoted to the latter.

Philip Howard was the godson of a king (Philip II, of Spain, husband of Queen Mary) and his early environment no doubt helped to shape his career. His father, Thomas Howard, fourth Duke of Norfolk, stood high in the favor of the Queen and her

consort. His mother was heiress to the earls of Arundel, the oldest earldom in England. Thomas Howard went to the scaffold a Protestant, beheaded on a charge of treason, having been involved in the affairs of Mary Queen of Scots.

Philip Howard was a gay gallant and a good Protestant who stood in high favor with Elizabeth; he paid obsequious court to the Gloriana and lived apart from his wife, Anne, Countess of Arundel. Anne, during this estrangement, had become a Catholic. When her child was born, Philip insisted that it be baptized according to the Protestant manner. She was named Elizabeth in honor of the Queen. Anne's conversion had brought down upon her the malediction of Her Majesty. Philip later fell upon evil days. He offended Elizabeth in some manner. Lingard says *(History of England,* vol. vi, p. 257) that he must have given her "some deep but secret offence which though it was never divulged would never be forgotten." Mr. Kerr uses Francis Thompson's *Hound of Heaven* as title to the chapter which tells of the return of Philip Howard to the bosom of the fold which he had in prosperous and joyous days abandoned, and the setting is quite fitting. Howard was imprisoned and "all that the malice of Elizabeth could prompt to make him yield to her will was effected." For eleven years he was lodged in the Tower, denied both wife and child. Tried and condemned for treason, and left in doubt as to when the sentence would be carried out, he had but to give formal ascent to Anglicanism by being present at the public worship of the Established Church to be restored to liberty. This he would not do and so he remained in the Tower until death took him in 1596. He was but thirty-eight years.

Most of Mr. Kerr's book is apparently compiled from *The Life of the Venerable Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey,* by G. Ambrose Lee (published by the Catholic Truth Society, London).

A Book of Church History. By Susan Cunningham. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1926, Pp. x+262.

Have we here at last the ideal small Manual of Church History? Undoubtedly, that question will arise in the minds of

many teachers in our elementary and secondary Catholic schools. "The History of the Church in a tiny compass!"—Father Hugh Pope, O.P., exclaimed in his preface to the book. The whole subject of Church history is so wide and vast and so crowded with problem, that it is "small wonder her historians have felt compelled to be voluminous." Miss Cunningham has attempted and, it may be said with pleasure, has succeeded in making the history of the Church from Pentecost to the Jubilee of 1925 accessible in her brief outline.

The volume follows the typical method of time, place and subject divisions, and each period is well summarized and supported by references for further study and reading. The book can be recommended without hesitation to our Catholic schools. A "Time Chart" at the end is well done, and there is a serviceable index.

P. G.

Jésuites Missionnaires—Un Siècle (1823-1923) A. Brou and G. Gilbert, S.J. Edition Spes, Paris, Pp. 94.

This little volume contains a general conspectus of the Jesuit Missions throughout Christendom and a monograph on the Jesuit mission to Kiang Nan, China. It records the progress of the missions founded by the Society of Jesus, since the resumption of this important part of their religious activity in 1823. Fifty-nine "champs d'apostolat," where the disciples of St. Ignatius are to-day working for the spread of the Faith, pass quickly before the reader's eyes in what the authors call a "film vrai" of the past hundred years.

Even as a compact summary, we have in this general retrospect a manual long needed for the history of modern Jesuit missionary development. A map of these missions reveals the fact that so far as North America is concerned, only seven such establishments are classified as "missions" in the strict sense of that word—one in Alaska, three in Canada, one in the United States, one in Honduras, and one in Jamaica.

In 1923, the members of the Society in charge of the missions of the world numbered 1,979, of which number 1,320 were

priests: Asia, 1,380; Africa, 342; the Americas, 195; Albania, 34; and Oceania, 28.

Although written for the purpose of giving the history of the Chinese missions, this little volume contains much information of a general nature not found elsewhere.

P. G.

The Ethical Teaching of Hugo of Trimberg. By Leo Behrendt, M.A., Washington, D. C., 1926. Pp. 61.

This is a valuable contribution to the cultural history of Germany, in particular to the history of pedagogy in that country. It is based upon very extensive and intensive study of the literature old and modern on the medieval schoolmaster Hugo of Trimberg and Hugo's chief work, *The Renner*. This didactic poem written about the year 1300 and consisting of nearly 25,000 verses, remained long after the author's death one of the most popular writings in Germany. More manuscripts are extant of the *Renner* than of many another work far surpassing it in poetic value and historical significance. The title, not given by the author, originated soon after its appearance, probably because of the author's often repeated comparison of himself with a rider who "runs" about the country to meet and talk to persons of all stations in life. The "*Renner*" had many competitors in the field of didactic writing. Although Mr. Behrendt thinks that very many productions of a similar kind must have perished without leaving much trace he is able to enumerate a goodly number, some of which have evidently been utilized by Hugo of Trimberg.

Hugo considered himself an intermediary between the unlearned public and such learned Latin works, as the Bible, the Holy Fathers, and other classic and later moral treatises and compilations. He addresses himself, however, to all classes, castigates the transgressions of peasant and city folk, rebukes the princes for their excesses and the evils existing at their courts, and points out fearlessly the duties of the clergy. The *Renner* is really no more than a rhymed moral treatise, with

little genuine poetry. It owes its persistent popularity to its simple conversational style, and to the clearness, comprehensiveness, and soundness of its teaching. Its author was a well read scholar, who had mastered the knowledge his time had to offer; and a blameless Catholic, who even possessed no mean familiarity with theology.

In his close scrutiny of the work, Mr. Behrendt confines himself to Hugo's *Weltanschaung,* that is, his views on the Church, life, and morals of the thirteenth century, and the historic background of these views. He expressly proves that Hugo of Trimberg cannot be called a forerunner of the Protestant Revolution. In 1550 a Protestant edition was put on the market, which shows both the popularity of the book, more than two hundred years after the author's death, and the unfitness of its original text for the educational purposes of the Protestants.

It is remarkable that in German educational circles this book has not attracted the attention it deserves. Great Catholic publications, such as the *Kirchenlexikon* and the *Lexikon der Pädagogik* do not even mention it. May Mr. Behrendt's pamphlet serve to procure for one of Germany's great medieval educators the honor due to him and his *Renner.*

FRANCIS S. BETTEN, S.J.

The Catholic Tradition in English Literature.—By George Carver. Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City, New York. 1926. Pp. xv+467.

In spite of the truth of Newman's dictum, "English literature will ever have been Protestant," no one can gainsay the classic beauty of the contents of the above named volume. The compiler is an assistant professor of English in the University of Pittsburgh. He is therefore well equipped to give us a pleasing selection of excerpts from the best Catholic sources. Of course his culling will not satisfy all, since literary tastes differ with the individual. But those who are not pleased will be few. Professor Carver's choice runs all the way from Chaucer to Kilmer. We are glad to see that he gives his readers prose as well as poetry. Rather should we call it poetic prose, so ryth-

mic is its diction. Running over the pages, we find many an old favorite, such as Crashaw's *"Hymn to St. Teresa"* and Southwell's *"Burning Babe."* To a few some of the selections will be caviar, like Alice Meynell's *"Renouncement."* But that taste will be dulled indeed, which does not relish Francis Thompson's *"Little Jesus,"* Spalding's *"Books,"* and Cardinal Manning's *"Gossip."* The book is substantially but plainly bound. Its price cannot be prohibitive. Librarians and booklovers in general will wish a more artistic setting for these gems of the first waters of our Catholic English literature.

J. F. L.

Von Coster zu Gutenberg. Der holländische Frühdruck und die Erfindung des Buchdrucks, Mit 26 Doppeltafeln und 49 Abbildungen. Von Gottfried Zedler. Leipzig: Karl W. Hiersemann.

Many errors are current concerning the way in which printing was invented. Some of us are still under the impression that the thing which made the art what it is, and which enabled Gutenberg to reproduce books rapidly, was the use of movable type. Others think it was the use of metal type as opposed to the employment of wooden characters. Neither view is correct. Those who find the essence of printing in the employment of metal type commonly ascribe the honor of the invention to Coster, a citizen of Haarlem. This clever Dutchman, they say, printed with movable metal type some fifteen or more years before 1450, the date usually given for the invention of the art by Gutenberg. But what is the merit of Gutenberg? Did he simply follow in the footsteps of Coster? Must every claim to the invention be denied to him? This question which has agitated learned minds for centuries Dr. Zedler endeavors to settle.

The greater part of his book is given to a discussion of the prints ascribed to Coster. The author considers it as evident that most of these fragments are really the products of Coster's art, and he comes to the conclusion that they have been printed with movable metal type. A few of these early Dutch prints he thinks were produced by other printers, who however had

learned the art from Coster. Unhesitatingly he sets down Laurens Jaansson Coster as the inventor of movable metal type.

He supposes, and makes it pretty clear, that some of the Coster prints fell into Gutenberg's hands. Gutenberg learned or concluded in what way they had been produced. He printed, it seems, one or two small books in the same manner. But very soon he directed his endeavors towards an improvement of the method. In this improvement lies his peculiar merit. Coster had made his type by the use of wooden originals, with which he formed moulds in wet sand, the same way in which much moulding is still done in our own days. Each sand mould allowed only one letter to be cast in it, and had to be renewed for each successive character. Gutenberg, on the contrary, first cut a type in copper, drove it into lead and thus formed moulds (mattrices) in each of which he was able to cast a considerable number of types. Experiments have shown that about five hundred lead types can be cast in one such mould before deteriorating. His first associates used steel for the original and copper for the matrices, and invented the present type metal. Gutenberg moreover devised an instrument the "hand mould" in which metal matrices could be inserted, and which made possible a very speedy founding of type. The hand mould, in use to this day and in exclusive use until some seventy years ago, when the type casting machine was invented, was (and is) a very complicated little contrivance. It was the printer's characteristic possession. Screw presses and other things could be found or made everywhere. The hand mould alone was the thing that enabled the artisan to ply his particular trade with a considerable prospect of profit. The metal matrice and this particular instrument are Gutenberg's contribution to the development of the art of printing.

Undoubtedly Gutenberg's merit is by far the greater. Coster had only one or two obscure imitators. The disciples of Gutenberg conquered the cities of Europe within a few decades. Even in Coster's own country, where it reached a very high degree of perfection, printing was introduced from the Middle Rhine. Dr. Zedler's reconciliation to the claims of Coster and Gutenberg is evidently satisfactory to the countrymen of Cos-

ter, for this work has been published with the financial support of the Dutch Society of Sciences at Haarlem.

F. S. BETTEN, S.J.

The Right Rev. Richard Luke Concanen, O.P., First Bishop of New York (1747-1810). By Vincent Reginald Hughes, O.P., S.T.Lr., Ph.D., Freiburg, Schweiz; Studia Friburgensia, 1926. Pp. xii+232.

The *lacunae* in American Church history are being gradually but permanently obliterated, and the capable sons of St. Dominic are prominent among the diligent toilers engaged in bringing to light what other historians have fearsomely avoided. Elsewhere is reviewed the splendid work of Dr. O'Daniel. Here we deal with a no less important or valuable work by one of the youthful and scholarly enthusiasts whom the Catholic University of America must be proud to number amongst its alumni—Dr. Reginald Hughes who completed his graduate work at the great Swiss institution which owes much of its prestige and reputation to the distinguished scholars of the great order of which he is a member.

Comparatively little was known of the first Bishop of New York until Dr. O'Daniel published two succinct studies on Concanen and his election to the See of New York in the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW (Vol. I, pp. 400-421; Vol. II, pp. 19-46) some ten years ago. The little that had previously been written of him was unreliable, notably so in the work of Shea whom certain historians dignify by the title of "The American Bede." Dr. Hughes says: "This historian's patent anti-Dominican bias mars a very excellent reputation. In the face of overwhelming documentary evidence that proves Troy (Archbishop of Dublin) to have had absolutely no connection with Concanen's appointment, only the cloak of charity can be thrown over Shea's ignorance or positive prejudice on this point" (p. 101, *footnote*).

This excellent monograph is the first detailed study of New York's first Bishop. It is unique in its way. Bishop Concanen never reached his American See, and died in Naples, two years after his consecration, while awaiting an opportunity to secure a passage across the Atlantic. It deals mainly with Concanen's

pre-episcopal activities, and is divided into three parts: The Friar: The Agent: The Bishop. The first part discusses Concanen's early years and the labors that concerned him chiefly within his own Order. The second studies Father Concanen, the Roman Agent, during sixteen eventful years in Rome—his relations with Troy and Milner, his part in the early stages of Catholic Emancipation, and his eminent services to Dr. Carroll, the first Bishop of Baltimore. The third part is a record of the two tragic years of fruitless efforts to embark from Italy for his American diocese, until political intrigue sent him to an untimely grave in Naples. Concanen's career as a Friar Preacher has been revealed as that of a zealous and indefatigable worker for the advancement of learning not only within the Dominican horizon but beyond it and as a man of deep spirituality who even mid the burdensome cares of a priorship enjoyed a reputation in Rome as a preacher of retreats and Lenten courses. He seems to have been master of many languages, Irish, Italian, French, German, and of course, Latin. But what is of particular interest to the student of American Church history is his part in the establishment of a Dominican Province in the United States. "The American foundation provided a fitting climax to Concanen's years of devoted labor within his own order. Yet his various accomplishments as a Dominican Friar were to be equalled, if not surpassed, by other concerns that occupied him as Roman Agent between 1792 and 1808" (p. 41).

A Roman Agent is one whose residence in Rome is availed of by prelates throughout the Catholic world, to whom is entrusted their official correspondence. "Quite naturally" (says Dr. Hughes) "there are many clerics in Rome who may be classed as Roman Agents, and their part in the life of the Church is more important than conspicuous" (p. 45).

Concanen became the leading English-speaking Agent in Rome through his relations with distinguished prelates in Ireland, England and America. Dr. Carroll, of Baltimore, and Dr. Milner, of the Midland District in England, employed Concanen's services.

> The performance of such intensive secretarial duties naturally made Concanen a familiar figure to the Pope and

> the Sacred Congregations. He was permitted free access to all the courts of Rome, and frequently was requested to express his personal opinion in regard to the election of bishops, the granting of faculties, dispensations, etc. It is not surprising, then, to find him recommended for the episcopal dignity by prelates and priests who believed his virtue and talents fit ornaments for the hierarchy (p. 46).

Concanen was nominated to the Diocese of Kilmacdaugh and Kilfenora, in Ireland, in 1798. "This date," [says Dr. Hughes] "manifests the absurdity of the DECOURCY-SHEA and CLARKE statement that Concanen chose New York in preference to the Irish See. The appointments were *ten years apart!* (p. 47, *footnote*). The chapters dealing with Concanen's services to Catholic Emancipation and to the furiously debated question of Dr. Milner's transfer to London, are, to put it mildly, thrilling.

> Thus Father Concanen, by personal endeavours, concluding with a direct appeal to the Pope, won for English and Irish Catholics the invaluable presence of their "modern Athansius" at the seat of government. Dr. Milner was permitted to open a career of brilliant services to the Church. He could well thank the humble friar in Rome for his opportunity (p. 86).

The concluding chapter in this part is an illuminating summary of the facts leading up to the division of the Diocese of Baltimore in which Father Concanen played such an important role. The remarkable influence which he enjoyed before the Roman Curia is evidenced by the fact that he was consulted on the division of the American diocese. His replies to the Propaganda evinced a thorough knowledge of the American Constitution and American ideals. "His observations on the American government also rank among the earliest European encomiums of those ideals of religious liberty and freedom of conscience that have characterized relations between Church and State in the New World."

Bardstown, Boston, New York, and Philadelphia were erected as sees on April 8, 1808. Bishop Carroll nominated Father John Cheverus, a French priest, for Boston; Father Michael

Egan, a Franciscan, for Philadelphia; and Father Joseph Flaget, a Sulpician, for Bardstown. No one had been nominated by Bishop Carroll for the See of New York. The Holy Father personally chose Father Concanen.

Concanen's election to New York has been attributed by Shea and others who follow him to the undue influence of Dr. Troy of Dublin. Dr. Hughes lays this bogy (let us hope for aye). He says: "Nowhere in the records of Propaganda is there mention of any one but the Sacred Congregation itself recommending him (Concanen) for an American See."

For two years Bishop Concanen waited watchfully for an opportunity to get passage to America. No vessel could be found to take him across the ocean to his episcopal see owing to suspension of communication between America and Europe on account of the French and English embargoes. Finally the captain of an American vessel bound for Salem, Mass., offered him passage to America; but an official of the French government warned Concanen not to dare depart from Naples. This so shocked Bishop Concanen that he became "ill and thoroughly depressed." He died as a result of the shock. An Italian Dominican, Father Lombardi, attended him in the final tragic days. The first Bishop of New York rests in the common vault beneath the sacristy floor of San Domenico Maggiore in Naples.

Bishop Concanen's death cost the Church the services of a brilliant and useful subject, the Diocese of New York, a zealous and efficient Shepherd. Only those who are engaged in trying to unravel the tangled skein of early American Church history realize how deeply indebted was the nascent Church to the consummate ability and unremitting zeal of Bishop Concanen. "Without Concanen's enthusiastic assistance and his intelligent observations, the American Church might have waited years for the provision that meant so much for her development. His persistent instances before the Holy See in favor of (the division of the Diocese of Baltimore) proved the occasion of his own election as Bishop of New York. It was the misfortune of the American Church never to meet the man to whom more than any other she owed the organisation of her hierarchy in 1808."

Dr. Hughes' work is an invaluable contribution to American

Church History. It is based upon documents from the Archives of Propaganda, Dublin, Paris, London, Cork, New York, and Baltimore, from unedited documents in great part, from printed sources and records. He has apparently ransacked every possible nook and cranny in the Dominican establishments with which Concanen had any relation, and gathered from books and periodicals any data that were worth recording. His presentation of the subject is scholarly, brief without being truncated, literary without being pedantic. Since the publication of Dr. Guilday's *Life and Times of John Carroll* we have not had any such contribution to American Church History. We hope that a revision (there are several typographical slips in the text) will be made presently, an Index furnished and the work published for the benefit of those to whom it is not now available.

P. W. B.

The Father of the Church in Tennessee, The Right Reverend Richard Pius Miles, O.P., First Bishop of Nashville. By Very Reverend V. F. O'Daniel, O.P., S.T.M., Litt. D. Washington, D. C.: The Dominicana Press, 1926. Pp. xiv+606, with forty-two illustrations.

A book by the learned historian of the Dominican Order in the United States invariably suggests painstaking research, conformity with the rigid rules of historical synthesis, comprehensiveness, order and simplicity in the presentation of facts. In the numerous volumes which Dr. O'Daniel has published these qualities have been outstanding features. The present volume exhibits all these in a very marked degree. Possibly the only actual criticism to which Dr. O'Daniel's biographical studies may be subjected is his seemingly steadfast persistence in *vulgarisation;* but he adduces what seems a sufficiently valid reason when he says in a Foreword to the present volume: "Doubtless general readers will constitute the greater number of those into whose hands the book will fall. For this reason, our constant effort was to write the text in a popular style."

In the preparation of this volume Dr. O'Daniel must have consumed many long days and laborious nights as he seems to

have left no stone unturned in order to place the narrative on a bed-rock foundation. He assures us that even "venerable traditions" regarding the subject of the volume were "thoroughly sifted and examined in the light of every available document. . . . Even graveyards were visited in the hope that the tombstones might yield, as they sometimes did, desired dates and data." All of which means that meticulous care characterizes the setting down of facts regarding Tennessee's great first bishop.

By way of introduction Dr. O'Daniel gives an outline of the history of Baltimore's Maryland foundation which he regards "as a proper historical setting for the volume." As a prelude to the career of Bishop Miles in Tennessee an entire chapter is devoted to Kentucky and his boyhood there. The chapter is illuminating and gives us an insight into the early lives of the early settlers. Few men are so well acquainted with this section of the country as Dr. O'Daniel, for he is a native son of "the blue grass region." There is a graphic description of the hardships which beset the Catholic pioneers in these early days when "the covered wagon" was the only means of transportation into the primeval forests of Kentucky. At the time priestly ministrations were rare (from 1796 to 1805—the childhood days of the future bishop of Tennessee—Father Badin was the only priest in the state.) "One of the greatest problems with which the pioneers of Kentucky had to contend was the education of their children. Still, largely thanks to Irish schoolmasters who emigrated to America in numbers, more than one intellectual giant was reared in the backwoods of that state (p. 48). Despite the difficulties it seems that the children of many of the pioneers received a good rudimentary education: this apparently was true of the younger members of the family of Nicholas Miles for Richard—the future Friar Preacher and later Bishop of Tennessee "had laid the foundations of a good education by the time the Dominicans arrived in the neighborhood" *(ibid.)*.

With the coming of the spiritual sons of St. Dominic into Kentucky, facilities, primitive necessarily, were provided for the schooling of the children of the missions there, and the first school was opened by Father Wilson. "This little makeshift of

a school was the beginning of the first Catholic college west of the Alleghanies" (p. 71). It was under Father Wilson's influence that Richard Miles began his ecclesiastical career, at St. Rose's priory which from modest beginnings grew into a mighty establishment which still exists in undiminished vigor. St. Rose's is the oldest convent of men in the United States.

In narrating the story of the neophyte, Dr. O'Daniel gives us numerous cross-sections of ecclesiastical history, valuable beyond appraisal to all who are engaged in the teaching of this too long neglected branch of a most important subject. Few realize how deeply indebted we are to Dr. O'Daniel's investigations. The writer of this review wishes to acknowledge that indebtedness.

Richard Miles rose rapidly after he had been ordained as a Friar Preacher, and his record as missionary teacher, prior and provincial stands out as one of the most brilliant chapters in the history of the Sons of St. Dominic in the United States. When the Baltimore third provincial council urged the erection of Tennessee into an episcopal see it made a request to the Holy See that Father Miles be nominated its head.

"In answer to the appeal of the Baltimore council Gregory XVI issued the Brief *Universi Dominici Gregis,* making Nashville an episcopal see, and the Bull *Apostolatus Officium,* by which Father Miles was appointed its first bishop" (p. 250).

Before discussing the episcopate of Bishop Miles in Tennessee, Dr. O'Daniel devotes two lengthy and particularly informative chapters (XII and XIII) to the history of Catholicism in that romantic section of Christ's vinyard, where the early settlers were largely of the same stock as those in Kentucky, "had the same difficulties with which to contend, possessed the same spirit of chivalry, and were guided by the same views in their westward migration" (p. 263).

The story of Catholicism in the early days of Tennessee is a sad episode. Says Dr. O'Daniel: "Most of the descendants of those (with Irish names) . . . who figured in the earliest steps of Tennessee's making . . . must eventually have lost the faith. . . . This somber truth is written on every

page of the early Catholic history of all our states, no less than of that of Tennessee" (p. 275).

When Bishop Miles took possession of the See of Nashville, the prospects were not inviting. This we glean from a digest of the Bishop's letters to the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi* (the records of the great Association which rendered such service to many dioceses in America during their days of hardship and privations).

"When he went to Tennessee, the state had not had a resident pastor for ten years. . . . Only a few localities were visited at long intervals, by a missionary. Through this isolation and neglect, the Catholics became scattered like sheep without a shepherd. Some of them left the state in order to find spiritual nourishment elsewhere. Others have grown weak in their faith, or even lost it. In the cases of mixed marriages, the children have uniformly grown up non-Catholics. In great stretches of the state [Catholicism] has left scarcely a memory. . . . There was only one church in the diocese. . . . There were not more than one hundred Catholics there, only twelve of whom received holy communion after much preaching and exhortation" (p. 355).

The lives of Bishops do not always "glide along like the rivers," and the episcopate of Bishop Miles occasionally met shoals and shallows. An instance is recorded in the chapter "Fairer Growth" in relation to the Community of Nazareth. Another is the friction in connection with the appointment of Father Munos to St. Rose's convent in Kentucky which Bishop Spalding states was made "that he might restore the discipline which had become somewhat relaxed through the exigencies of the missionary life" (p. 453). The reviewer is not sure that Dr. O'Daniel's explanation of the matter is quite satisfactory as regards either Bishop Spalding or Bishop Miles. Nor do we feel that the footnote (same page) adds either weight or dignity to the "Tradition" which is invoked.

Bishop Miles, however, was not by any means of a susceptible disposition, and he never faltered in the line of duty. He was a truly noble character, a conspicuous ornament alike to the order of St. Dominic, to the priesthood, and to the hierarchy in

the United States. A study of the man as exhibited by Dr. O'Daniel's book reveals "The Father of the Church in Tennessee" as a great man and a zealous Bishop. Practical, resourceful, prudent—he possessed the qualities requisite for the success of a fruitful apostolate. He left an impress on the Church in Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee which will endure. His life constitutes one of the brightest chapters of our American ecclesiastical history. Of him we may truly write:

Lives of great men all remind us,
We can make our life sublime,
And departing leave behind us
Footprints on the sands of time.

We hope that others will follow in the cultivation of a field in which Dr. O'Daniel has opened so many furrows. Our early heroes and heroines of the faith should be rescued from shades of deep oblivion which have so long hung over them. Their memories should be preserved and treasured for the inspiration of future generations; and the only way in which this may be effected is by the written story of their lives. The history of the American Church is writ in the deeds of those who in the early days bore the burden and the heats and left us the glorious heritage which we now enjoy.

The publishers have done a satisfactory job in the production of Dr. O'Daniel's book. There are a few misprints, but they are not of a nature to mar the value or the appearance.

P. W. B.

NOTICES

(Selected volumes from this list will be reviewed in later issues.)

Catalogue of Pictures, including Paintings, Drawings, and Prints in the Public Archives of Canada, with Introduction and Notes by James F. Kenney, M.A., F.R. Hist. S., and *The Northcliffe Collection*, both published in Ottawa by the Public Archives of Canada, are important and valuable publications.

Catalogue of Pictures has both French and English texts (both languages are "official" in the Dominion Parliament), and the compilation is the work of Mr. Kenney whose name is not unknown to readers of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW. In a brief but characteristic Preface Dr. A. G. Doughty, Archivist of the Dominion says:

> "This is the first attempt that has been made to publish a scientific catalogue of Canadian prints, and although it is confined to the items in the Public Archives of Canada, it will serve as a guide to future collectors. . . . It is a work of permanent value to a steadily increasing body of men and women who are determined to make known the history of this country and who will welcome the knowledge which its pages reveal.
>
> To Mr. Kenney my thanks are due for the zeal with which he has carried out the difficult task entrusted to him, and more especially for the excellent scholarship so plainly manifest in his work."

Mr. Kenney's Introduction is really a scholarly essay on "prints" which is of such unusual value that we hope later to be able to reproduce some, if not all of it, provided the requisite permission be granted.

Only those who have had to do investigation work in the Canadian Archives can adequately appreciate the value of Mr. Kenney's work. The writer of this notice speaks from experience. Were such a guide available I should have been spared a great deal of time and let me say, patience, whilst ferreting out some early colonial portraits some years ago. The following explanatory note suggests much of the value of this interesting collection. Mr. Kenney says:

> The names of the persons whose portraits are in the collection are arranged in chronological order, according to the respective dates of death. A brief biographical sketch is given, indicating, if it seems advisable, the association of the subject with Canadian history.

As an illustration the following notice of John Cabot is given on page 4.

> "Giovanni Caboto, or John Cabot, a mariner, Genoese by birth, became a citizen of Venice in 1476, and, apparently about 1484, settled in London. In 1497 he commanded a ship which sailed from Bristol and came to land somewhere within the present dominions of Canada and Newfoundland, the first European vessel recorded to have done so, at least since the time of the Norsemen. In 1498

he led a second expedition westward; but there is no certain information as to the outcome. The evidence suggests that Cabot, after exploring a considerable part of the North American coasts and returning to England, soon died."

The Northcliffe Collection, the subject of the second volume noted, was presented to Canada by Sir Leicester Harmsworth, Bt., as a memorial to his brother the famous publicist, and consists of the papers of General Robert Monckton, of Brigadier General Townshend, some rare printed material and portraits.

The papers relate mainly to a period of vital interest not only to Canadians but to Americans as the fall of New France leading directly to the revolt of the English colonies is the most outstanding event in the English history of the eighteenth century. The drama on the Heights of Abraham, and the subsequent surrender of Montreal, practically determined the withdrawal of the French from America and made possible the foundation of the United States as an independent Nation.

The largest series in the collection bears the name of Monckton who served in several campaigns in America. He was in command of the forces in Nova Scotia and was charged with the expulsion of the Acadians. He served as Governor of Annapolis (Nova Scotia), and acted as second Brigadier at the surrender of Quebec. Later he became Governor of New York and Commander-in-Chief of the Army which wrested the Middle West from the French, and Commander-in-Chief of the expedition which captured Martinique and other Islands of the West Indies.

The second collection in importance consists of the papers of George Townshend, who signed the capitulation of Quebec, and was responsible for the elaborate defence system in Canada.

To the collections of manuscripts which are fully calendered in this volume, Sir Leicester Harmsworth has added many exceptionally valuable items in print including the unique copy of the Portuguese account of the capture of Fort Bull, printed in Lisbon in 1756, and the twenty-four volumes from Wolfe's library at Blackheath.

The manuscripts are supplemented by a number of highly interesting maps relating to the campaign, in manuscript and in print, the titles of which are printed in the volume.

The volume is furnished with a splendid index, and the writer has already availed himself of some of the data supplied in elucidating an ecclesiastical problem relating to the Capuchins in the Windward Islands.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the sources of the national historical literature of England were in a deplorable state. Scholars everywhere attempted to remedy this, but with little success. The Record Commission was created in 1800, but did practically nothing until the appointment of Sir James Mackintosh in 1825. In 1830 Harris Nicolas called attention to the lamentable condition of the sources, and his criticism led to the creation of a new and more active committee of the Record Commission. At this time also many historical societies were formed with the express purpose of collecting and reprinting old

manuscripts and documents illustrative of the intellectual, religious and social condition of England in the past. Among these groups may be mentioned the Roxburgh Club, the Bannatyne Club, the Maitland Club, the Abbotsford Club, the Surtees Society, the English Historical Society, the Camden Society. Mention should also be made of the great collection of sources of English legal history provided by the Selden Society, and the publication of manuscript records of important voyages and explorations by the Hakluyt Society. Although these various societies rendered incalculable service to the unearthing and preservation of English source material, their efforts were superseded by the publication of another important enterprise supported by the government. This collection is now generally known as the *Rolls Series* because of the manner in which the documents were preserved, and also from the fact of its publication by the Master of the Rolls. It is the official British analogue of the *Monumenta* of Germany, and the *Documents Inédits* of France.

It was about this time that William Stubbs, the greatest of the English medievalists before Maitland and the Anglicized Russian, Vinogradoff, vigorously criticized the work of the Record Commission. "Shortly afterwards at a meeting of noblemen and gentlemen held at Spencer House, it was resolved to recommend the publication of a complete collection of the sources of English history from the earliest times to the Reformation. Mr. Henry Petrie, Keeper of the Records in the Tower, was instructed to draw up a plan for the approval of the government, and was subsequently appointed editor of the series." (S. R. GARDINER: *Introduction to the Study of English History;* p. 219.) This enterprise was known as the *Monumenta Historica Britannica.* After the publication of the first volume (1036 folio pages, London, 1848), it met with disaster, owing partly to the death of the principal editor, Mr. Petrie, and partly to its cumbrous form. The undertaking, however, was not allowed to drop, and in November, 1856, the distinguished archivist, Joseph Stevenson (a convert, later a priest, and finally a member of the Society of Jesus), brought the subject to the attention of the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury. His representations were referred to Sir John Romilly, Master of the Rolls (the official custodian of the Court of Chancery). On January 26, 1857, Sir John Romilly submitted proposals to their Lordships for the publication of a series entitled: *Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores, or Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland from the Invasion of the Romans to the Reign of Henry VIII.* After due consideration their Lordships adopted these proposals and the publication of the proposed series was officially authorized under the following conditions: (1) that the works thus selected should be published without mutilation or abridgment; (2) that the texts should be formed on a collation of the best manuscripts; (3) that the editor should give an account of the manuscripts used by him, a brief notice of the era when the author wrote, and an explanation of any chronological difficulties. In this new series "preference was to be given in the first instance to such materials as were most scarce and valuable"; each chronicle was to be edited as if the editor were engaged upon an *editio princeps;* and the volumes were to be issued in a convenient octavo form. (*Catholic Encyclopedia:* Art. "The Rolls Series," vol. XIII, p. 120.) Moreover, the preface to each work should con-

tain in addition to the particulars proposed by the Master of the Rolls, a biographical account of the author, so far as authentic materials existed for that purpose, and an estimate of his historical credibility and value. (Resolutions appended to each volume of the series.)

The enterprise was principally directed by Duffus Hardy, whose survey of the *Sources and Documents of English History* was a work of permanent value. The task of editing these sources was performed by a number of English Medievalists, among them Brewer, Gairdner, Canon Robertson, Giles, and Dimock. But far the greatest figure was Bishop William Stubbs (1823-1901), whom Barnes calls "the English Waitz." Professor Gooch says that "Stubbs offered his services at once, but it was not till 1863 that the greatest of editors received his commission. For twenty-five years he was to enrich the Rolls Series with masterpieces of technique and historical learning, which may be said to have inaugurated the critical study of medieval sources in England." (Gooch: *History and Historians in the 19th Century;* pp. 340-341.)

The series, when finished in 1896, contained 255 volumes, representing 99 separate works. Since it was discovered that most of the existing editions published in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were unsatisfactory, almost all the important medieval chronicles have been included. *The Dictionary of English History* says: "The series now includes editions by the most competent of English scholars of the chief medieval chroniclers of England, including works of Hoveden, Matthew Paris, Roger of Wendover, Simeon of Durham, Henry of Huntingdon, Giraldus Cambrensis, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, such public records as the Muniments of the Guildhall of London, and the Black Book of the Admiralty, and miscellaneous collections, such as Mr. Brewer's Monumenta Franciscana, and Mr. Anstey's Munimenta Academica. In many cases the value of the text is increased by most learned, luminous, critical or historical introductions by editors. The whole work has been published in a manner in the highest degree creditable to English scholarship. Its value to the student cannot be overestimated." Samuel R. Gardiner in his *Introduction to English History* remarks: "It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that it has done more towards promoting an accurate knowledge of our medieval history than all the preceding efforts put together. It has not simply rendered accessible to the majority of students a series of valuable texts in a state of accuracy previously unattainable, but it has also been the means of inducing a number of eminent scholars to concentrate their attention on definite and often little known periods of history." (p. 220.) Most of the texts are in Latin, and these are printed without a translation. Those in old French, Anglo-Saxon, Irish, Gaelic, Welsh, old Norse, are always accompanied by a translation.

Sources: The Progress of the Rolls Series may best be traced in the *Annual Reports of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records.* For the contents in alphabetical arrangement according to titles of works, cf. Gross: *The Sources and Literature of English History;* pp. 704-711. Potthast: *Wegweiser;* I, pp. cxxvii seq., lists the separate works according to their order in the set. The *Catholic Encyclopedia,* vol. XIII, p. 120, has a short article written by Herbert Thurston, S.J.

URBAN BERGKAMP, O.P.

Father Bede Jarrett's *Social Theories of the Middle Ages* (1200-1500) (Benn, London) was written in response to the request of one of the principal London publishers to contribute one of the most important volumes to a specially organized series of elaborate monographs designed to present a "Library of European Political Thought." It is a welcome recognition, from a non-Catholic source, of Father Bede Jarrett's title to rank among the leading scholars of medieval history and philosophy. His book is, in fact, largely an exposition of the theories of St. Thomas Aquinas, and of other less celebrated exponents of Christian social and ethical doctrine, upon a vast range of questions which are all actual at the present day. Not that Father Jarrett relies entirely upon either St. Thomas or any other exponents of Christian doctrine, for he shows how Christian social theory had evolved in various ways, through the Councils of the Church, through the teaching of great centres of Catholic philosophy like the University of Paris, and through the practical application of Christian morality and idealism to everyday life.

The Cambridge Mediaeval History: Contest of Empire and Papacy (Cambridge University Press), is a ponderous, skillfully planned, and wisely edited volume—the fifth in this splendid series. The period "the century and a half, roughly from 1050 to 1200, with which this volume is concerned"—is of immense importance in the history of the Catholic Church. It is a period of reform within the Church, of the shaking off by the Papacy of Imperial control, of "contest for supremacy between the Papacy and its counterpart, on the secular side, the Empire." A period when "the capacity of the ruler was of the first importance and attention is focussed upon individuals."

In *Two Glastonbury Legends* (Cambridge University Press), Mr. Armitage Robinson gives us the results of the author's researches to ascertain the truth of the ancient tradition which connect Fr. Joseph of Arimathea and King Arthur with the Abbey of Glastonbury. He has unearthed the evidence on both subjects.

The Reverend T. Corcoran, S.J., D.Litt., Professor of Education in the National University of Ireland (University College, Dublin) has added to his *Studies in the History of Classical Education*, and his *State Policy in Irish Education (1536-1816)*, a third volume entitled *Renovatio Litterarum in Scholas saec. A.C. XVI Deducta* (Dublin, 1925). No more valuable symposium on the history of education in the sixteenth century has appeared in recent years. The book is divided into two parts. The first contains a list of themes for essays on the educational systems of the period prior to the sixteenth century and on general topics of classical education. The second part consists (pp. 49-187), of excerpts from Budaeus, Vives, Sadoleto, Muretus, Victorius, Folieta, Corradus, Justus, Lipsius, and others. The years included in the excerpts are 1467 to 1606. These are followed by appendices of excerpts from Blondus Flavius, Lawrence Valla, Pico, John of Salisbury, Anna Comnena, and others. In a preface, written attractively in Latin, Father Corcoran makes a strong plea for this historical method of research among the sources themselves of classical education. A

second volume is to follow this on the schools of the sixteenth century and on their curricula and discipline. The *Renovatio* is published privately for the students of University College.

P. G.

An alumnus of the Catholic University of America, Rev. Virgil Michel, O.S.B., of St. John's Abbey, Collegeville, Minn., has just published a translation of Abbot Caronti's *Spirit of the Liturgy*. The book is the second of a series entitled *Popular Liturgical Library*, which the Benedictines of Collegeville started a few years ago. Recently they have announced a monthly review on liturgical questions, the *Orate Fratres*.

P. G.

Nel Io Centenario della Morte del Cardinale Ercole Consalvi was printed in May, 1925, as a tribute to the memory of the great Cardinal Secretary of State, Hercules Consalvi (1757-1824). No adequate biography of Consalvi has as yet been written; and it may well be surmised that this excellent centennial volume will inspire a *Life* worthy of the greatest churchman of the Napoleonic era. The book is beautifully illustrated and is a good example of the Vatican Press. There are *Biographical Notes* by Angelucci, an excellent study entitled *The Era of Concordats* by Bagstien, an article on *The Legislation of the Pontifical States During the Regime of Cardinal Consalvi*, by Grosse-Wietfield, Consalvi's poem on the Immaculate Conception, edited by Monsignor Ugolini, the prefect of the Vatican Archives, and the Proceedings of the Conferences held in commemoration of this first centenary of Consalvi's death. It is interesting to note that the portrait of the Cardinal in this volume is taken from the *Catholic Encyclopedia*.

P. G.

Przywara, P. Erich, S.J., *Vorträge über das religions-philosophische Problem*. (Munich, 1926, p. 188.) This little volume is the seventeenth in a series entitled *The Catholic Idea* (*Der Katholische Gedanke*), in which Grabmann's *Catholic Mysticism* and *St. Thomas Aquinas*, and Krebs' *Protestants and Ourselves* have appeared. Father Przywara treats the problem of God as seen by thinkers in ancient and modern times, the question of modern pantheism, the idea of God in history, and the doctrine of Christ in the Church. These lectures were first delivered at the University of Leipzic. Przywara who is well-known in philosophical circles as one of the foremost thinkers in the Catholic Church, is one of the contributors to the *Handbuch der Philosophie* of Bäumler and Schröter.

P. G.

In the *Report upon Archeological Research in the Department of Literature, Kyoto Imperial University* (Vol. VII, 1922-1923), Professor Dr. I. Shimmura, has published an exceptionally interesting paper on *Christian Relics Found at Mr. Higashi's House, north of Takatsuki, Settsu*. The relics consist of paintings, sculpture, medals, and a book (in manuscript) belonging to the period of the

Christian era of Japan's history. Professor Kosaku Hamada claims them to be "one of the richest and most interesting discoveries ever made." The history of Christian archeology in Japan is greatly enriched by these finds and by the excellent descriptions given in this *Report* of the Kyoto scholars.

P. G.

We have received from Rev. J. T. McMahon, M.A., Diocesan Inspector of Schools, Perth, Western Australia, two very valuable booklets, of which he is the author, *Lectures on Education delivered to the Teachers of the Catholic Schools of the Archdiocese of Perth* and *Sketch of the Catholic Church in Western Australia* (published by *The Record*, 450 Hay Street, Perth, W. A.). In a foreword to the *Lectures on Education* Father McMahon quotes the following from Welton, a recognized authority in this special field:

"No one can read the lives and works of great school-masters without seeing how earnestly they thought about their work. They 'worked their facts and not their theories,' as Tring puts it, but they *did* work them, and that not doggedly and mechanically, but as problems to be solved. They meditated on their work, noted their errors, found the reasons for them, apprehended the principles which underlie successful work, and invented modes of applying those principles to their own special problems. So their work was embodied theory, and theory they had made their own in the only real way—by living it. This it was that made them great; *not length of unexamined experience*. . . . No matter what preparation is given, the beginner must always be a beginner in practice—no training can make him an experienced teacher. But training can and should secure that he is not a beginner in thought, but that from the first his efforts are made intelligently—that is, with a clear conception of the end they are intended to reach, and of the conditions under which they may be expected to attain fruition," and he adds:

Those words of Welton in "What do we mean by Education?" are the best apologia for issuing this collection of talks on teaching. The successful teacher of long experience is inclined to belittle the value of theory. The text-book student finds many things lacking in the "practical" teacher. As practice is but realised theory, and theory is practice becoming conscious of itself, both are essential, supplementary in fact to one who, ambitions more than the title of a "teacher by the grace of God."

The *Sketch of the Catholic Church in Western Australia* (published also by *The Record)* is an excellent *esquisse* of the progress and development in a country which "less than a century ago was a mere desert, destitute of all but its possibilities." West Australia is smaller than the other Australian States in population, but is the largest in extent of territory, being about eight times the size of Great Britain and Ireland. Father McMahon tells us:

> For many years after its establishment, in 1829, the whole mission of the Swan River Settlement, as it was then called, was practically in the hands of the Wesleyan Methodists. The Catholics of Perth, in 1842, petitioned the Vicar-General of New South Wales to send missionaries

to relieve the spiritual wants of the Catholic settlers scattered over the district. Archbishop Polding appointed Father Brady, an Irish priest, who had been labouring in the New South Wales mission for some time, Vicar-General of the Settlement, with full powers for administering to the faithful throughout the whole of the Western district. Accompanied by Father Joostens, an aged Dutch priest, who many years before had served as Chaplain in the army of Napoleon, and Patrick O'Rielly, an Irish catechist, he arrived in Perth on the 13th of December, 1843, to begin the glorious, though uphill work, of establishing Catholicity here.

Governor Hutt welcomed the missionaries, cordially expressing his pleasure at the Catholics being able to receive the ministrations of their own religion. He granted them three allotments of land for Church, School and Presbytery, and promised a liberal subscription to the building fund. The foundation-stone of the Church, destined to be the Cathedral, was laid on the 27th of December under the invocation of St. John the Evangelist, whose feast was that day celebrated. In a few hours the sum of £160 was collected, which enabled the building to be begun. Awaiting its completion, Mass was celebrated in a newly-erected store, 60 feet by 24, which was often filled to over-flowing, many persons coming a distance of 15 miles to assist at the Holy Sacrifice, and many Protestants being also present at the religious ceremonies.

Finding that the aboriginal natives were very numerous round about Perth, as well as throughout the whole State, Father Brady journeyed to Europe to secure the services of some zealous missionaries to evangelize the blacks, and also to get assistance for the Perth mission. He returned to the sphere of his labours raised to the dignity of Bishop, and accompanied by a party of priests and nuns. Among the missionaries were Dom Salvado and Dom Serra, two Spanish Benedictine priests, who took care of the aboriginals. The first Monastery was at Subiaco, but later the mission was transferred to New Norcia.

William Dana Orcutt, the writer, whose home is in Boston, has inscribed a copy of his latest work, *In Quest of the Perfect Book*, which is attracting much attention in its field, to Pope Pius XI.

His reason is found in a passage in his book, which at the same time is a graceful tribute to the scholarship, breadth and personal charm of the present pontiff. Mr. Orcutt says, in describing a visit he paid to Monsignor Ceriani at the Ambrosiana Library at Milan:

"Ceriani (the librarian) introduced me to his assistant, whose co-operation was of the utmost value in my work. I was particularly struck by the personality of the younger priest. He was in close touch with affairs outside the Church, and asked searching questions regarding conditions in America. He spoke several languages with the same facility with which he spoke his own Italian. His knowledge of books and bookmaking, past and present, surprised me.

"All in all, I found him one of the most charming men I have ever met. His name was Achille Ratti; and, when he became Bishop of Milan in 1921 and was elevated to the College of Cardinals two months later, I realized how far that wonderful personality was taking him. One would scarcely have foreseen, however, that in less than a year from this time he would become Pope Pius XI."

Mr. Orcutt is not only a widely known writer, but a lecturer on the higher phases of printing as an art, and is an expert on typographical subjects. He is the author of more than a dozen volumes on various subjects. He was made a Knight of the Order of the Crown of Italy in 1924.

In "Notes on Rare Books," the New York *Times Book Review* (October 31) says:

The subject of incunabula, because of the ponderous texts which hedge it in, presents at first a discouragingly tedious aspect to most new collectors attracted by early examples of printing. Once past the barriers, however, and fairly in the field, these stately volumes are found to be extremely interesting in themselves and well worth the study they require.

A number of volumes provide easy, though necessarily hurried, entrance to this wide domain. Among these one thinks first of the recent *Guienberg to Plantin*, by George Parker Winship, in which the matter of the "cradle-books" has been made positively entertaining. There are, too, a number of popular articles on the subject which have succeeded in awakening the curiosity of collectors. These the serious student rejects, for he knows his Latin, his Greek, or medieval German and may, if he like, wallow in the texts of the incunabulae themselves. This excursion most collectors are denied, not only because of lack of knowledge but chiefly because of a difference of interests. Most collectors, in their approach to these books are actuated by the value they set upon fine printing, early illustrations, or by a purer bibliophilic interest in acquiring the rarest of editions princeps. Only the exception among them has any serious interest in the subject-matter of these books.

But both student and collector cannot fail to appreciate an excellent recent production of a German scholar, Dr. Robert Teichl. This is the most ornamental of all the academic treatises on incunabula, being a colored chart of the subject *(Der Wiegendruck Im Kartenbild*, Wien, Osterreichischen Staatsdruckerei, 1926) and the popularization of the subject should receive a genuine impetus from so helpful a guide. For the receipt of this we are indebted to Mr. Lathrop C. Harper, one of the most ardent propagandists for incunabula among the unenlightened collectors.

We must express our fullest admiration of the intelligent conciseness and the completeness of this chart. It unfolds the history of printing up to 1500, with more clarity than one would have believed possible. More than two hundred and fifty cities had printing presses before 1500; they are all recorded in brief space, together with their first printer, and the year in which he first produced books there. The first section is devoted to a chronological arrangement, beginning with the traditional 1445, Mainz. It shows that not until 1500 were presses established at Perpignan, Pforzheim, Sursee (Germany) and Valenciennes; 1475 appears to have been the banner year—in fifteen cities new presses began to operate, including Barcelona, Perugia and Valencia. Danzig, Tours, Nantes, Hamburg and Dijon had no printers before 1490.

The map itself is of the greatest convenience. Only those cities in which presses were established before 1500 are displayed, the color of each little circle

indicating the chronological division to which it belongs. In Northern Italy and Central Germany printing broke out with such energy that the map, in that sector, reminds one of nothing so much as a bad case of measles!

The last section is an alphabetic arrangement of cities and towns; the date of the inception of printing there and its close, if before 1500, together with the name of the first printer.

The academic study of incunabula has been almost traditionally associated with Germany, though several important English, French and Spanish works show that the treatment of the subject is not an affair exclusive to German scholars. While we believe that any of a number of scholars in England we know might have produced this valuable chart, it seems rather fitting that a German should have done so. As Dr. Teichl points out in his brief introduction, "the history of the art of the book-printing resembles an immense fugue in which, as Goethe says, 'the voices of the people gradually appear.'"

Dr. Karpinski, to whose industry we are indebted for much cartographical and bibliographical knowledge, says in the *Dearborn Independent* (October 30):

> The first printed advertisements consist of notices of books published by the booksellers of Germany, of Italy, of France, and of England. Such a notice consisted of a single sheet, a broadside, designed to be tacked on the door of a church or the gateway of a city or in some similar public place. In the nature of the case such documents were not carefully preserved and the fact that a fairly large number have survived to the present day is largely due to accidental rather than deliberate preservation.
>
> The first printer of England, William Caxton, printed in 1480 a book giving the rules for the government of priests in the diocese of Salisbury. The book would not appear to be a tale of adventure, stirring the enthusiasm of anyone who heard the title, and yet William Caxton deemed it of sufficient general interest to warrant an advertisement, for public display. This specimen of the great printer's art has been preserved in two copies. One is found today in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and the other in the great John Ryland Library of Manchester.
>
> Caxton makes a point of the fact that the book is of the same type as the advertisement, "enprynted after the forme of this present lettre"; that the book "ben wel and truly correct"; and also where the book is to be had, at Westminster in the Almonry, by the Red Pole. All of this is good "advertising stuff."
>
> The first newspaper advertisement in English appeared in the *Perfect Occurrences of Every Daie, journall in Parliament, and other Moderate Intelligence*, for April, 1647. This advertisement reads as follows:
>
> "A book applauded by the Clergy of England, caled *The Divine Right of Church Government*, Collected by sundry eminent Ministers of the Citie of London; Corrected and Augmented in many places with a briefe Reply to certain *Queries* against the Ministry of England; Is printed and published for *Joseph Hunscot* and *George Calvert*, and are

to be sold at the Stationer's Hall, and at the Golden Fleece in the Old Chaunge."

The second newspaper advertisement in English appears in the *Mercurius Elencticus* of October 4, 1648, in which two other religious books are recommended:

"The reader is desired to peruse a Sermon Entituled *A Looking Glass for Levellers*, Preached at St. Peter's, Paules Wharf, on Sunday, Sept. 24th, 1648, by Paul Knell, Mr. of Arts. Another Tract called *A Reflex* upon our Reformers with a prayer for the *Parliament*."

Advertisements were commonly made by posting up printed notices. A central exchange appeared in London, "the office of Publick Advice," about 1660, printing a page of advertisements, probably every week. In 1689 this advertising medium consisted of some sixteen pages.

Books and patent medicines were the first subjects in England, followed by tea which was advertised in September, 1658, in the *Mercurius Politicus*.

"That excellent and by all Physitians approved China Drink, called by the Chineans Tcha, by other nations Tay, alias Tee, is sold at the Sultaness Head, a cophee-house in Sweetings Rents, by the Royal Exchange, London."

Such were the beginnings of advertising in the very early days of printing. In the early 18th Century some English newspapers began to devote large portions of the front page to advertisements. The American newspapers in their earliest beginnings ran advertisements as part of their regular business.

The *Fortnightly Review* (St. Louis) in its issue of October 15, says:

Of the thirty or forty German Catholic newspapers that flourished in this country a generation ago, there are only a few left, and of these *Der Wanderer* of St. Paul, Minn., is admittedly the best. For some time past this excellent weekly, edited by Mr. Joseph Matt, labored under the handicap of not being able to find a printer who would vest its interesting contents in a becoming typographical dress. The management has at last overcome the difficulty by purchasing a press of its own, with the result that the *Wanderer* is now not only one of the most ably edited, but also one of the most neatly printed Catholic papers in America. Those of our subscribers who read German and are not yet familiar with the *Wanderer*, should send for a specimen copy, or, still better, remit three dollars for a year's subscription to the Wanderer Printing Co., 80 E. 3rd Str., St. Paul, Minn.

Apropos of an incisive editorial in a recent issue of the *Baltimore Catholic Review* which deprecates strongly the silliness of certain jejune Catholic teachers who are vaunting the wares of purveyors of literary rubbish, this excerpt from Mr. St. Loe Strachey's new book on America is very pertinent:

I may remind English readers that Mr. Mencken's method is to collect every kind of folly, ineptitude, perversion, and general idiocy out of the daily, weekly,

and monthly minor press of America and then to ask the American public what they think of such horrors and stupidity. If they are wise what they will think of them is exactly what a man would think if the bodies of several dead cats, bits of semi-putrid meat, and other sordid remains were brought out of his neglected dustbin, arranged upon the dining-room table, and he and his family were thereupon asked whether they did not feel humiliated and disgraced by living in a house where such things could happen.

To this we append the following pungent paragraphs, from an article in *America*, by Daniel A. Lord, S.J., "Mencken Among the Metaphysicians":

> One virtue we must all concede Mr. H. L. Mencken, he is never dull. He may write with an infallibility that would make the doctrinal bulls of one of his despised popes read like the vague expression of a faint and wavering opinion. He may parade before our astonished eyes a staggering list of authors and books which, with pardonable scepticism, we feel no human being could possibly have skimmed in a lifetime much less have studied and digested. But even when he plays pope or oracle or The World's Complete Digest of All Human Knowledge Conceivable or Inconceivable, he is never dull.
>
> And his recent picture of himself re-reading the philosophers from Plato to Santayana in the course of a hot summer's fortnight is delightful. One visions him reclining in a porch-swing in white flannels, reaching ever and anon (as heroes always do) for a cooling draught not too far from his elbow, while he tears the heart out of not one philosopher, as another modern claimed to have done out of Suarez in a summer afternoon, but tearing the inners out of all of them at the rate, I suppose, of three or four a day. "Fee, fo, fum! I smell the blood of philosophorum!" And Mr. Mencken, rising to indulge in a yawn, shows us his teeth dripping with philosopher's blood while he tosses their bones carelessly on the front lawn. Mencken among the Metaphysicians makes a droll picture.
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> . . . . . .
>
> There is in Mr. Mencken that strange combination of the seeker and the cynic. He madly seizes everything new, examines it hopefully, places it beside life to see whether it fits, and then flings it into the scrap heap of rejected and despised refuse.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> The *American Mercury*, his voice to the world, is a magazine of complete disillusionment. It has tasted life and found it sour. It is bored with art, sceptical of science, tired of literature, sick of that great boob, man. It has no policy but a destructive one, to swing a club that will smash idols and strew the world with broken clay and marble. Mr. Mencken, when he speaks to his public, speaks with the voice of one who finds life and all it contains pretty poor stuff. He and his magazine are despairful voices crying out a modern echo of the king who found all things vanity.

Prof. Francis W. Kelsey of the University of Michigan returned recently to the United States with a remarkable collection of ancient documents ranging in date from the middle of the third century B. C., to the end of the sixth century A. D., which has been presented to the university by Oscar Webber and Richard H. Webber of Detroit.

The collection was brought together in Egypt and comprises more than 350 documents. Some are fragmentary, but many are complete and perfectly preserved. Nearly all are on papyrus; a few are on waxed tablets. The language is chiefly Greek, but there is a select group of Coptic documents. There is a bilingual papyrus in Greek and Latin containing a portion of a report in a law case. On a waxed tablet is part of a Latin deed in which is a reference to the last year of the reign of the Emperor Hadrian, 139 A. D.

The contents are varied. There are petitions, one of which is addressed to the Governor of Egypt; contracts, leases and receipts for money; list of workmen, statements of account and tax rolls, magical charms, an order for the supply of a donkey to provide transportation, private letters and a few fragments of literary works, chiefly verses of epic poetry, in part Homeric.

Among the later documents are a complete expense account of the year 145 or 135 B.C., 1 foot in length and 3¾ inches wide; a tax receipt dated 162 A.D., an official statement of an amount of grain delivered at Alexandria in 374 A.D. and a surety for tenants remaining on their holdings dated in 594 A.D.

Writing in the October number of the London *Fortnightly Review*, Mr. R. E. Gordon George says:

> The Papacy is the one institution which is not only responsible for the moral and general welfare of subjects of all countries, but is dependent on them for its own maintenance. Because, therefore, it is identified with the welfare of different countries, it is in that respect an ally of true patriotism, as its diplomacy is a support for diplomacy as a whole. It can mediate between nations who cannot, or will not, deal directly with one another.
>
> In this sense it performs, and it has long performed, the work which many idealists had in view in founding and maintaining the League of Nations. And in some respects it has advantages over Geneva as a center of efficiency. It has not rejected great countries like Russia or Germany from its circle; it is not dominated by France; and it has not been made the subject of party politics in the United States. But it has still another advantage over the League of Nations. Sure of the allegiance of four hundred million adherents, and strong with the astuteness of an immemorial experience, the Vatican is an independent institution which applies to nations as to individuals the principles of morality and justice. There is in those principles, wherever they are found, a remarkable power to survive and dominate. Again and again in the course of history they have been attacked, despised, defied; but in the constitution of human society they are ineradicable; they are inherent in the principles of life. Every Calvary means finally a Canossa.

Gott. Fünf Vorträge über das Religionsphilosophische Problem. Von Erich Przywara, S.J., 1926 (Oratoriums-Verlag, Köln, München, Wien.), belongs to the same series as *Die Christlichen Sozialleliren*, by Otto Schilling, which was reviewed and recommended to our readers in the October number of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW. In the terminology of the most modern German philosophers the lectures treat of God's knowableness and existence; man's relation and duties towards God; the God-Man Jesus Christ; God, the Church, and man. The lectures were originally delivered at the University of Leipzig. They are directed against a number of errors current in Germany. The text as well as the numerous annotations are full of references to the Bible, the works of the Fathers, and, of course the neo-philosophers whose vagaries the author is combatting and refuting. Cardinal Newman's works are very frequently referred to and quoted literally—another indication of the popularity which the publications of the great English cardinal at present enjoy in Germany.

Although No. 4 of the *Franciscan Studies* is confined to articles on the doctrine of Duns Scotus with a very brief outline of the great teacher's life, it gives us pleasure to recommend it to our readers. It is an able and therefore very welcome contribution to the history of medieval theology, and deserves a place among the works of this kind. Among the past numbers of the series we call attention especially to No. 1, entitled, *Science in the Franciscan Order.* (Published by Jos. Wagner, New York.)

Die Loci Theologici des Melchior Canus und die Methode des dogmatischen Beweises. Ein Beitrag zur theologischen Methodologie und ihrer Geschichte. Von Dr. Albert Lang. (Kösel und Pustet, München), is No. 6 of the "Munich Studies in Historical Theology." It is with pleasure that we bring this book to the notice of those who have a special interest in historical theology. Despite his fierce and unjustifiable opposition to the newly founded Society of Jesus, and a somewhat questionable attitude towards the papacy in the person of Paul IV, this great Dominican is one of the most acute theologians of all ages. The *Loci Theologici*, his chief work, are discussed as they appear in the setting of the author's time and surroundings. It is interesting to note that Melchoir Canus gives a lengthy treatment of *Historical Method* in the course of his work.

One of our most distinguished contributors, Rev. Francis S. Betten, S.J., of John Carroll University, Cleveland, Ohio, has recently had a peculiar experience, says a Cleveland newspaper in the accompanying item:

Although the Rev. Francis Betten, S.J., of John Carroll University, is co-author of *The Modern World*, he can not read it. At least he can not read the particular edition that came to him through the mails a few days ago. Not even the title on the cover. For it is a summarized version in the Japanese language.

The translating was done by the Jesuits who have established colleges and universities in Japan, where the book will be used.

The Modern World, which is used in many American schools, was written in collaboration with the Rev. Alfred Kauffman, S.J., Creighton University, Omaha.

Stephen Gardiner and the Tudor Reaction, by James Arthur Muller, Ph.D., (The Macmillan Company, New York) is a masterly piece of work. Dr. Muller gives us an intimate study of an outstanding personage of the Tudor period, who was Secretary to Cardinal Wolsey and Henry VIII, Bishop of Winchester 1531-1555, chief minister of Henry VIII after the fall of Thomas Cromwell, and Lord Chancellor of England under Queen Mary. During three reigns he led the conservative forces in Church and State. He served his day in the three-fold capacity of lawyer, statesman and diplomat. It is a sympathetic study of the "proud and glorious prelate" whom Foxe dubs "Wily Winchester."

Dr. Muller assures us that he "came to this study without any desire to prove anything," and that he had spent several years studying the letters and books of Gardiner, and the books and letters of his contemporaries, the State papers, statutes, chronicles, and ecclesiastical, academic, and social records of [Gardiner's] day. Later we hope to review this work at length.

The Cambridge University Press have just brought out a most welcome revise of Dr. W. H. Hutton's biography of *Thomas Becket*, which, originally published in 1910, has long been out of print. The new edition has taken into account a great deal that has appeared during the last sixteen years, re-sifted it and inserted it into the original text, taking care to adjust it into its proper perspective.

Autographs of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence, by Charles F. Jenkins, apparently privately published, is a handsome booklet of fifteen pages which gives a very detailed and valuable account of the sets of autographs of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. It states: "As of this writing, there are twenty-seven completed sets of autographs of the signers in existence; and of these eighteen are owned by institutions and nine by individuals."

Extraordinary prices have been paid by collectors for some of these sets. "The set of the signers in the Manning sale. . . brought a total of $46,689.50. Those who are interested in such collections will find Mr. Jenkins' booklet of exceptional value.

Columbia University Press announces the continuance of the *Records of Civilization*. The work was seriously interrupted during the war but is now proceeding according to the aims for the series set forth in the prospectus issued in 1915. Amongst "Forthcoming Volumes" we notice *Helmold; Slavic Chronicle*. by Francis J. Tschan, Assistant Professor of History, Pennsylvania State College, *Adam of Bremen: History of the Bishops of Hamburg* and *Arnold of*

Lubeck: Chronicle of the Slavs. Readers of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW will be interested in these publications as Dr. Tschan is one of its most capable and competent contributors. These studies are listed under "Narrative and Political History."

In the department of "Religious and Ecclesiastical History," the following are announced:

Hellenistic Religions. By Professor Harold Tryon, Union Theological Seminary. *The Penitentials.* By Professor J. T. McNeil, Knox College, Toronto. *Papal Finance in the Middle Ages.* By Professor W. E. Lunt, Haverford College. *Bernard Gui: Handbook of the Inquisition.* By Professor A. P. Evans, Columbia University. *The Papacy in Modern Times.* By Professor Carleton J. H. Hayes, Columbia University.

The Making of the Western Mind; a short survey of European culture, by F. Melian Stawell and F. S. Marvin (George A. Doran Company, New York) is a description in broad outline of the chief elements of the European cultural inheritance as taken over and increased by the nations of the West, from the days of classical Greece to our own. The authors have carefully indicated the distinctive contribution of each period and culture in literature, art, science, philosophy and politics.

The treatment is in the main historical, but the book is not so much a summary of events as an estimate of the main factors in our common culture, the chief problems that underlie our divisions as men and peoples, and the principal grounds of hope for the future.

The book is well illustrated.

Those interested in mediaeval studies owe a debt to Professor James F. Willard, Professor of History, University of Colorado, for his unceasing activities in this particular field. In acknowledging *Bulletin* No. 4 of "Progress of Medieval Studies in the United States of America," we desire to express our appreciation of Professor Willard's work. The *Bulletin* has some fifty pages of valuable data. It notes books published on mediaeval subjects by American authors during the period February 2, 1925-February 1, 1926, lists forthcoming books in the same field, and has a very complete record of papers read at meetings of learned societies. Professor Willard says (p. 41):

One phase of the movement to arouse interest in medieval studies has been neglected thus far. There is lacking a brief and inexpensive guide to the best books on all sides of medieval life. There are many special bibliographies, but to my knowledge there is not one of the type described. In the effort to break down the barriers between the different fields of medieval lore, a guide including within its covers the names of books on architecture, art, economic development, intellectual life, political history, and political thought, would be of value. The time has passed when a teacher of medieval history or medieval literature may rest content with a knowledge of one phase of the life of his period.

The *Bulletin* is really a *vade-mecum* for those interested in mediaeval studies and is a necessary adjunct to the scholarly *Speculum*, the official publication of the Mediaeval Academy.

The trustees of the British Museum have begun the issue of the *British Museum Quarterly*, containing descriptions, with illustrations, of the latest acquisitions of the museum. It is published in this country by the Oxford University Press (American Branch). The periodical is planned to give information about the museum both to those who are able to visit it and to those living at a distance who will be interested in descriptions and reproductions of the objects acquired from time to time. The descriptions, while not too technical for the layman, yet give the expert part at least of what he needs to know. The quarterly will also call attention to the temporary exhibitions periodically installed in the museum, besides reporting the results of excavations and announcing additions to the publications of the museum. The new acquisitions described in the first issue are "A Statuette of Socrates," "A Roman Cinerary Urn of the Republican Period," "Mediaeval Bronze Bowl," "A Gold Bowl from Hungary," "The First Draft of Jane Austen's 'Persuasion'," "A T'ang Silver Figure," "A T'ang Silver Hoard," "The Seager Bequest of Greek Coins," "A Sarum Book of Hours of 1494," and other objects.

We have received one number of the new Belgian periodical, *Irénikon*, the official publication of "Les Moines de l'Union des Eglises," a group of Benedictines established at the Priory of Amay-sur-Meuse who will devote themselves in conformity with the Apostolic Letter of Pius XI, "*Equidem verba*," "à l'apostolat de l'union des Eglises et préparer par une action lente, pacifique et fraternelle le retour des chrétientés séparées à l'unité oecumenique de de l'Eglise."

Irénikon is already under fire and the editor of the *Universe* devotes some space to the discussion of an article which he states that the September issue of the *Month* had subjected "to a searching analysis and damaging criticism." This seems to us to augur ill for the fulfilment of the aims of the "Monks of Unity."

The contents of *Irénikon* are scholarly, and we hope it will steer clear of the abounding shoals contiguous to the shores of "Unity." As an illustration of its attitude towards this desired haven, the following excerpt from its "Chronique" on the passing of "Monsieur Portal, prêtre de la mission" is presented:

Toute la vie du célèbre lazariste a été dominée par une grande pensée; son nom est devenu un programme et un drapeau : la restauration de l'Unité chrétienne dont il a puisé l'idéal au plus intime du cœur du Maître et qu'il a poursuivie avec cette tenacité inébranlable qui est fille non de l'entêtement mais de l'amour. En toute vérite il a tête l'homme d'une idée, et Dieu avait mesuré les vertus de l'ouvrier à la grandeur de l'œuvre. M. Portal s'est montré fidèle au plan providentiel. Et le 23 juin à la chapelle des Lazaristes de la rue de Sèvres, en demandant pour lui le repos éternel et la lumière sans

déclin, on avait l'impression que personne ne l'avait mérité mieux que lui. Les épreuves ne lui ont pas manqué; mais combien le Seigneur lui a rendu le joug suave et le fardeau léger : il a joui de la confiance et de l'intimité sans réserves des deux plus grands princes de l'Eglise de notre temps : le cardinal Rampolla et le cardinal Mercier; il a connu par ses relations avec lord Halifax, les joies suaves de l'amitié et expérimenté la parole du Sage: "Un ami fidéle est une protection puissante; celui qui le trouvé a trouvé un trésor: rien ne vaut un ami fidéle." (Eccl., VI, 14) "Toutes les souffrances mais non les souffrances du cœur!" (XXV, 12) Il a été le précurseur d'un mouvement que les quatre Souverains Pontifes qu'il a connus ont béni et encouragé à l'envi et dont Pie XI veut faire la grande œuvre de son pontificat; et après un quart de siècle de longue et patiente attente (et pour des âmes ardentes quelle souffrance!) il a vu se lever des temps meilleurs et a pu saluer la Terre promise.

A ce propos qu'il nous soit permis de rappeler ce qu'il nous écrivait à la date du 22 mars 1926: "Combien j'aime la petite Belgique, quelles joies j'y ai goûtées dans ces dernières années!" Ces "Conversations de Malines" dont il était l'initiateur et l'âme furent la consolation providentielle et la récompense anticipée que Dieu réservait à son fidèle serviteur. Les autres initiatives qui rayonnèrent de celle-là et qui le ramenèrent en Bélgique: Semaine de Bruxelles, Journée de Louvain, Œuvre monastique pour l'Union des Eglises, sans compter toute l'activité unioniste qui s'accentuait dans tous les pays semblaient lui donner un renouveau de jeunesse et de vie.

Il n'y a pas un an, il nous était donné d'entendre le cardinal Mercier, M. Portal et lord Halifax prêchant la grande croisade pour l'Union des Eglises. De ce glorieux triumvirat un seul maigré ses 88 ans reste au poste de combat. Avaientils conscience les deux grands disparus que la fin approchait et que l'heure des recommandations suprêmes avait sonné. En tout cas leurs dernières exhortations et l'example de toute leur vie seront pour les Apôtres de l'Union des Eglises des leçons précieuses auxquelles ils veulent rester fidèles.

America (November 6) under the caption "Franciscan Asceticism and Mysticism," says:

> In commenting on certain papers read at the Eighth Annual Meeting of the Franciscan Educational Conference, whose "Report" has just reached us, the chairman of the occasion remarked that the writers had preserved the sweetness of Franciscan unction and the best traditions of Franciscan scholarship, which was to think with the heart and love with the mind. This is the contribution St. Francis himself made in enriching the world with the startling newness and bewildering beauty of his thoughts, which nevertheless were but the logic of divine love followed to its ultimate conclusions, as these apply to us. It was the Seventh Centenary of the death of their Seraphic Patriarch, as Father Plassmann said which shed its brilliancy upon this meeting, at which delegates from the three branches of the Franciscan Order and from nearly all the Franciscan Provinces in this country participated. Most fittingly, the special subject

for this year's conference was "the science of the saints, which is the queen of all sciences, human and divine." Who should be better able to discuss this subject than the sons of St. Francis and the Brothers of St. Bonaventure?

The "Report" is characteristic of the careful scholarship at which this Educational Conference aims, and which it desires to spread throughout all the Franciscan houses, and so onward through American Catholic education and literature. What in this connection arrests our attention is the scientifically compiled "Bibliography of Franciscan Ascetical Writers," arranged according to periods by Father Victor Mills, and extending over nearly a hundred pages. But the body itself of the "Report" may well serve as a textbook upon Franciscan asceticism, covering practically the entire field in its comprehensive papers and discussions on the "Asceticism and Mysticism of St. Francis of Assisi," "The Spiritual Life According to Francican Masters," "The Franciscan Retreat," "Outline for a Progressive Course in Ascetical Theology," and a final study on "The Director of Souls." Each of the great Religious Orders, as one of the speakers rightly said, has its own distinctive purpose and form of spirituality impressed upon it by its Founder, for "the Spirit of the Lord does not produce sameness but a variety of gifts." The world may well be thankful for what He has bounteously bestowed upon it in the asceticism and mysticism of St. Francis of Assisi. It is one of the richest inheritances of our entire Christian civilization.

A reviewer in *America* (October 2) says of *Papst und Kurie. In ihrer Politik nach dem Weltkrieg*, by Frederick Ritter von Lama (Bayern: Verlag der marinus-buch-handlung in Illertissen) that it "is among the most important books of post-war history." Continuing the reviewer says:

It is a detailed exposition of the diplomatic activities of the Pope and the Roman Curia in all parts of the world, since the Armistice. Only a journalist like Ritter von Lama, who for years has devoted himself to chronicling and interpreting the current ecclesiastical events throughout the world, could have successfully undertaken so stupendous a task. The incentive which led to this work was the accusation levelled against the Holy See by the *Evangelische Bund* that the Pope had distinctly favored the Allies in the World War and opposed the interests of Germany. This denial of Papal neutrality is triumphantly refuted, but the refutation becomes a glorious vindication of the Papal diplomacy throughout the world during the last six eventful years. Each country naturally considers the activities of the Vatican, as the writer says, from its own standpoint, while the Holy Father alone views all the world with the eyes of the common Father of Christendom. Again it is presumed that Rome is bent upon gaining political power and prestige, and all the words and actions of the Pope are seen in this false light. Ritter von Lama has done a notable service to the Church and to history in clarifying this

important subject. If it is to be expected that his interpretations may not always accord with the more or less nationalistic viewpoint of each reader, it cannot be gainsaid that he has always sought to be unprejudiced in his conclusions. An adapted translation of this work would doubtless be of value.

The National Catholic Welfare Conference Bulletin for October is devoted mainly to a detailed account of the annual meeting of the Hierarchy and presents the Reports of the N. C. W. C. during 1925-26. The "Other Features" deal with the activities, actual and prospective of the various lay organizations allied with the N. C. W. C.

Marietti, the well-known Catholic publishing establishment of Turin has published an admirable edition of *Prima Pars* of the *Summa* of St. Thomas, bearing the title: *D. Thomae Aquinatis Summa Theologica* in breviorem formam redacta usui Seminariorum aptata, auctore Fr. Joanne Lottini, O.P., Commissario Generali S. Officii; Pars Prima. Fr. Lottini is a veteran in the field of Scholastic Philosophy and Theology.

The Franciscan Herald Press, Chicago has published a splendid little library of Franciscana, all of which may be purchased for a very moderate sum:

The Galilee of St. Francis, by Marie Donegan Walsh; *Glories of the Franciscan Order*, by Francis Borgia Steck, O.F.M.; *Legends of St. Francis*, by Mary J. Malloy; *Legends of St. Francis*, Second Series, by Mary J. Malloy; *Saint Anthony of Padua*, Marian Nesbitt; *Paschal Babylon*, by Louis Malloy; *Patrons of the Third Order*, by Fr. Hilarion Duerk, O.F.M.; *Tertiaries of To-day*, by Faustin Hack, O.F.M.; *Tertiaries of Our Day*, by Annette S. Driscoll.

A new Catholic University publication has appeared under the designation, *Studies in Psychology and Psychiatry* edited by the Rt. Rev. Mgr. Edward H. Pace, D.D., Ph.D. It will be issued as results are obtained. The first study, *Psychology and Reasoning*, by Miriam Frances Dunn, Ph.D., a graduate of Trinity College, has been published. This study subjects the theories of logicians to the test of experiment and outlines the empirically observed processes taking place in reasoning.

St. Anselm's Priory, Washington, D. C., (the Benedictine Foundation at the Catholic University of America) has published *The Catholic Negotiation 1717-1719*, by Summerfield Baldwin, as the initial number of BENEDICTINE HISTORICAL MONOGRAPHS, dedicated to Charles Howard McIlwain (Harvard) and bearing the *Imprimatur* of His Eminence Cardinal O'Connell. Mr. Baldwin's study is "an attempt to unravel . . . the tangled skein of *"The Catholic Negotiation of 1717-1719."* The subject, really is of no great importance historically except to those interested in the study of the sombre side of English Catholicism. Mr. Baldwin states that he offers little new material in his pages; but he has "brought together all the printed sources he could lay his hands on.'"

A careful reading of the booklet leads me to the conclusion that it hardly warrants the time and energy spent upon an unsavory ecclesiastical episode. It simply reveals anew the *spirito intrigante e pericoloso* of an intriguing political cleric who seems to have had little appreciation of his priestly duties but was much engrossed in the matter of ecclesiastical preferments. Meddlesome intriguers like the Abbé Strickland brought direful calamities upon English Catholics, and we doubt the wisdom of resurrecting issues which were better consigned to deep oblivion.

Mr. Baldwin's thesis is admirably worked out and is buttressed by documentary evidence and rather meticulously annoted. The bibliography is valuable to students of Jacobite history in its final phases.

Martha Jane at College, by Inez Specking (Benziger Brothers, New York), is a good story of a college girl's life, with its usual quota of plans and pranks, love and envy, ambitions and disappointments. Miss Specking seems to know well the psychology of girls in general and her girls in particular. They are quite natural characters, truly human, with real feminine virtues and vices. But they are not flappers. What pleases us most is their genuine *sensus Catholicus*, such as one might find in any healthy group of Catholic young people. Of course the ethics of the story is unimpeachable. The plot is not deep, but will hold the growing girl from the day Peg goes to college until she and Martha Jane sail for Europe. We see no reason why the book should not be as popular among our girls as the best seller on the market.

J. F. L.

Dr. Baudiment has issued in the *Etudes Religieuses* of Liège a short but attractive study: *Saint François d'Assise et la Civilisation*. The year 1926 will always be hailed as a great Franciscan jubilee year, and hardly any aspect of St. Francis' influence in the Church has gone unheralded. Baudiment treats the place of the Saint in the development of art, literature, and the religious and social life of the people. It would be difficult to find a more complete multum in parvo treatise.

A Defense of Liberty Against Tyrants. A Translation of the Vindiciae Contra Tyrannos by Junius Brutus, with an historical introduction by Harold J. Laski, Reader in Political science in the University of London (Classics of Social and Political Science I) (Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York) is a reprint offered as the first of a projected series of the classics of politics. The choice is unfortunate for the first volume as the text is not a representative classic in politics and is furthermore on the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* for its false implications and reasoning. Further comment is superfluous.

The preface, however, by Dr. Laski, because of the position he has won in the study of government, requires some notice. Unhappily it is no more valuable than the text it accompanies. The wealth of literature he makes use of is stupendous but his style is so labored, his statements so generally contradictory,

and his conclusions so at variance with his premises, that little can be gained from much study of his essay. Taken as a whole the book is one of the most disappointing volumes which has appeared in the field of politics in recent times.

M. T. M.

National Resurrection. A plea for disillusionment, by Eustace Dudley, B.A., Oxon. Preface by Arthur Hungerford Pollen (Longmans, Green & Co.) makes a plea for a return to the underlying principles upon which England's golden age in medieval times was based as a cure for her present day ills. The author is not reactionary in his ideas. He does not advocate a return to the middle ages as they were, but pleads for a combination of their best features, especially in spiritual things, with modern advantages.

His style is engaging, his points well made, his conclusions logical, and his argument convincing. It remains to be seen how his suggestions will be received in England. Perhaps they will not go amiss in America where unhappy symptoms of ethical evils at times require gentle, if not heroic, remedies.

M. T. M.

Monica; or the Chronicle of Marcus, by Samuel Valentine Cole, (Marshall Jones Co., Boston), is a slim little volume of a narrative poem exquisitely told by the late president of Wheaton College. Some critics maintain that a long poem is a contradiction in terms. Dr. Cole makes a most convincing argument in rebuttal by offering the sustained life of Saint Monica as sheer poetry of the most heroic sort. Augustine's efficacious advocate is a well-chosen guide for a bard about to venture on the River Styx. His lady fair must have received with gentle smile her errant knight who tilted so nobly for her name.

The Jews' Struggle for Religious and Civil Liberty in Maryland, by E. Milton Altfeld (M. Curlander, Baltimore), is an amplification of the article on Maryland in the *Jewish Encyclopędia* by Jacob H. Hollander, Ph.D., of Johns Hopkins University. It contributes no new data but merely puts in convenient form the speeches and acts of the general assembly during the "Jew Bill" debates in 1825 and before. Being a personal tribute to Thomas Kennedy, a Presbyterian native of Paisley, Scotland, who devoted his life to the cause of political equality of the Jews, the books ends when his work is finished. No allusion is made to the further repeal of discriminatory rules in the law of evidence of Maryland which was adjusted in 1847.

We suggest to the complacent and unco guid personages who are persistently flag waving and talking platitudinous inanities about our righteousness that they read carefully the article "Our Dissolving Ethics" in the November *Atlantic Monthly*. Lack of space prevents more than the following excerpt:

> Our ethics and their old sanctions are already in dissolution. That has been accomplished by the older, not the younger, generation. What the younger generation and their children may be called upon to do may be to make the most rapid, far-reaching and consciously intelligent read-

justment of ethical ideas to altered social structure that the race has ever been called upon to make. We of the older generation have played with ideas and let loose forces the power of which we little dreamed of. We have, indeed, sowed the wind, and it will be those of the younger generation who will reap the whirlwind unless they can control it. Individually we may feel guiltless. We may merely have been busy with our intellectual hobbies, our money getting, our loving and striving, but we surely cannot lay the blame for the intellectual or mora conditions upon the scapegoat of the younger generation. To condemn them and regard ourselves complacently is as unjust as it is unwarranted. They have inherited, perhaps, the biggest mess and biggest problem that was ever bequeathed by one generation to another.

NOTES AND COMMENT

Concerning Encyclopedias.—Mr. J. L. Garvin, Editor-in-Chief of the new edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* says regarding it:

> Old methods of thought have been superseded more rapidly than ever before. . . . The former views of the very foundations and spirit of the Universe, of Time, Space, Matter and Energy have been altogether dissolved or profoundly modified. . . . Many and marked as have been the changes in the world's outward circumstances, still more general and still more deep have been the changes in the inwardness of human ideas and feeling. . . . There has been a universal revolution in human affairs and in the human mind.

Commenting on this statement the *Tablet* (London) under date September 18, says:

> We suspect that the Thirteenth Edition itself will be less Modernist than its Editor seems to threaten. If it be true that the first scholars and experts have collaborated in the work, we may be sure that due respect will be shown to the thought and learning of the past and that the much-vaunted New Mentality of the undigested post-bellum period will not be accepted as a Novum Organum of all knowledge. The changes in human thought and feeling are many and great; but the intellectual and moral elements of which we must forever report "No Change" are more and greater.
>
> While we expect the thirty-two volumes of the new Britannica to be indispensable and mainly admirable, we are prepared to find in them many inadequate and perhaps a few misleading treatments of points specially interesting to Catholics. But we sincerely trust that, when these imperfections come to light we shall all keep our tempers. Catholics must not be too touchy. Not every Pope has been a Saint and not every act of churchmen has been just, charitable and prudent. Only in cases where one of the new Encyclopædists so selects and groups and emphasizes true data as to give his readers a false impression of us and our spiritual forefathers shall we be justified in condemning his article as unsound and bigoted. All we want is the truth.

The *Tablet* offers the following pertinent suggestions:

> Let every Catholic who believes that he has found in the new edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* an honest blunder or a partisan misrepresentation jot down the exact reference and send it to *The Tablet*, with a terse statement of his criticism. These jottings shall be checked by scholars; and all of them which contain valid objections shall be transmitted to the Encyclopædist-in-chief. The first transmission shall be a list of unquestionable rectifications, in such matters as chronological slips and inaccurate quotations. Up to this point our readers will not be censors so much as collaborators. The second transmission will consist of reasoned criticisms on points, both major and minor, where we believe we can show

that the scholarship of the Encyclopædists is deficient or that it seems to have been deflected by personal or sectional bias. This will be the tug-o'-war; but it will quickly disclose to us whether the scales are loaded in favour of Modernism or not.

In the last resort we may have to invite Catholic theologians, canonists, historians, philosophers, and physicists to assist in the production of a concise volume to bear some such title as "A Catholic Supplement and Companion to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*." As a Supplement, such a work would not enter into rivalry with the capacious *Catholic Encyclopedia*, but would briefly make good the worst omissions in the *Britannica*. As a Companion, it would amend, in alphabetical order, such of the *Britannica's* articles as may be misleading In size and style the "Supplement and companion" would be like a thin extra volume—a thirty-third—to keep in the shelves with the new *Britannica;* but, of course, it would be made most plain, on the title-page and in the preface and in the preliminary advertising, that these Catholic addenda are entirely independent of the larger and older enterprise. In due course, non-Catholic scholars would perhaps publish their retort, which would be all to the good. And thus the world of letters would behold a revival—but without the scurrility—of the old learned battles, when one scholar wrote his Annotations on an opponent's text and another scholar followed with Animadversions on the Annotations.

The Liverpool *Catholic Times* says regarding the *Encyclopedia Britannica:*

The publishers assure us that the work will be free from those errors that made the *Britannica* in its previous editions so unpleasant reading for Catholics.

That this may be so can, we believe, be attributed to some extent at least to the Westminster Catholic Federation. When it appeared, in 1924, that a new edition was being prepared the Federation called the attention of the Encyclopædia Britannica Co., Ltd., to the fact that in reference to matters Catholic the *Encyclopædia* contained many inaccuracies, due no doubt more to incomplete knowledge than to any desire to misrepresent.

An offer was made to present a memorandum of the items calling for emendation, to which a reply was received to the effect that a new edition was not contemplated. But an assurance was received by the Federation from the Encyclopædia Britannica Co. that "when the time arrived for a new edition to be made the whole question of the treatment of Catholic subjects would be most carefully reviewed."

However, we learn that the Federation considers that the editors of a work of the Britannica's importance should bring its treatment of historical subjects into line with modern history, which has been raised to the rank of an experimental science.

This is perhaps more necessary than the unconscious misrepresentation of matters purely Catholic; for to such an extent has post-reformation history been what de Maistre rightly stigmatized as a "conspiracy against

truth," that our fellow countrymen's conceptions are based on false premises which constitute a serious impediment to any correct appreciation to-day of the subversive forces which are impelling our much-vaunted civilisation to its ruin.

We must not, however, forget we shall soon have at our disposal a great Encyclopædia entitled *Universal Knowledge*, which is being brought out by those who gave us our splendid *Catholic Encyclopædia*.

Universal Knowledge is an entirely new encyclopedic work edited by Edward A. Pace, Conde B. Pallen, Thomas J. Shahan, James J. Walsh, and John J. Wynne, assisted by 1,600 experts. Its object is to do for all knowledge what the *Catholic Encyclopedia* did for the knowledge that came within its scope. It will possess a number of excellent characteristics which will distinguish it from other encyclopedias; *it will discriminate clearly between theory and fact;* it will omit no point of view or side of any dispute worth knowing; it will contain a vast amount of information which cannot be found in any other general reference work. It will take Christianity for granted; founded on the impregnable rock of Revealed Religion, it will be unique among reference works as being the only general encyclopedia which takes definite cognizance of the providence of God.

THE CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW will gladly furnish to those interested further data regarding this unique publication.

A Model Year Book. —Complaints frequent and deserved, are made regarding the unsatisfactory publication of *The Official Catholic Directory*. At the last meeting of the Hierarchy, held at the Catholic University of America, a committee was named to confer with the publishers with a view to make the American "official" publication more satisfactory. We hope that something will be done to make our *Catholic Directory* a reliable and satisfactory publication. An excellent model for a Year Book (Directory, if you will) is that described by Mr. Denis Gwynn in a late issue of the *Catholic Times*. Says Mr. Gwynn:

It is immensely to the credit of the French Catholics that, although the standard of publishing is, from a technical point of view, whether in regard to newspapers or to books, much lower in France than in other countries, yet the official year-book of French Catholicism is a model which, in this country at least, has never yet been approached. The *Almanach Catholique Français* for 1927 (published by Bloud and Gay, Paris, for six francs) is the seventh volume of the series since it was first organised by the Comité Catholique des Amitiés Françaises à l'Etranger. The success of that very remarkable committee is due chiefly to the labours of two of the most remarkable personalities in modern France: to its chairman, Mgr. Baudrillart, member of the French Academy, and Rector of the Catholic University of Paris, and titular Bishop of Himeria; and to its indefatigable organising secretary, Mgr. Beaupin.

For the seventh time Mgr. Baudrillart contributes a preface to this admirable survey of all the notable events and activities which concern the Catholic Church

in France from year to year. The first volume was a sort of small encyclopædia of French Catholic affairs—a mine of useful and interesting information, containing a brief but adequate "Who's Who" of the Catholics of France, the names and records of all the French hierarchy; a complete calendar for the ecclesiastical year; descriptive and historical accounts of a great number of French places and events of Catholic interest; a large number of specially contributed articles describing the chief social movements and problems, written by some of the most celebrated of living French writers; and an immense variety of miscellaneous information that it is difficult to obtain elsewhere. Each volume has also been copiously and admirably illustrated, and this latest addition to the series embodies many new features, besides improvements in the arrangement.

From being a compendium of Catholic information about France, the *Almanach Catholique* has, owing to the vitality and enthusiasm of its editors developed into an annual chronicle of movements and of events which acquires the interest of a serial story. Mgr. Baudrillart in his preface recalls how in the previous volume he had felt obliged to write gravely in warning of the very serious dangers created by the return to power of an aggressively anti-Catholic Government. This year he is able to record the rapid growth of the Catholic movement in self-defence. Articles and narratives, in this volume describe in detail the origin and the development of such spontaneous national organisations as General de Castelnau's National Catholic Federation and the Association of ex-Soldier Priests. Others give a full account of the various moves made by the anti-clerical Governments, and of the measures taken by the Catholic organisations to resist attack. They show how, from organising in self-defence, the Catholics of France have proceeded to a vigorous counter-attack; not only resisting the proposed new measures directed against the Church, and especially against the religious communities who have returned to France since the war, but taking the offensive boldly in demanding the repeal of the laws which have been in abeyance since before the war, and which the anti-Catholics are now endeavouring to enforce.

For these chapters and articles alone this Almanach would be indispensable to all students of Catholic affairs. But what a wonderful year for the Catholics of France was 1925! Of the six new Saints canonised by the Pope in the Holy Year, no less than five were French. One of them—the Little Flower—was even born within the memory of many who still remember her as a contemporary. Three others: the Curé d'Ars; Saint Madeleine Sophie Barat, the foundress of the Sacred Heart Nuns; and Saint Marie Madeleine Postel, foundress of the Misericorde schools; have all died within living memory. It is not surprising that the Almanach deals largely with the historic ceremonies at Rome. Last year saw also the discovery of France's greatest preacher in the Oratorian Père Sanson, who has succeeded the Père Janvier at Notre Dame.

And for the present year what a rich field of varied interests is unfolded! The golden jubilee of the foundation of the Catholic Universities of France which produced so vital and so profound an intellectual revival—will be celebrated this year. There will be the festivities connected with the centenary of

St. Francis of Assisi. There will be the national congress to discuss the problem of finding recruits for the clergy; and a score of other important congresses. No one can even skim through the pages of this wonderful year-book without learning much of the extraordinary vitality and sanctity that belong to the Catholics of France.

It is no exaggeration to say that, even though they are in fact so small a minority of the whole French people (almost certainly less than the proportion of practising members of the Church of England in this country), they have far more activity to record, whether in France itself or in the magnificent French foreign missions, than the Catholics of any other country. That, perhaps, is one reason why no such year-book as the *Almanach Catholique* has yet appeared in England or in Ireland. But surely it is time that the attempt were made by some Catholic publisher. No better model could be found than this admirable volume, which, at the present rate of exchange, costs no more than the *Daily Mail* Year-Book.

Gift of the French Clergy to the American Revolution.—We are indebted to Elizabeth S. Kite (author of *Beaumarchais and the War of American Independence* for the following:

The historical pageant given under the auspices of the American Catholic Historical society, September 13, 14, 1926, in the Metropolitan opera house, Philadelphia, as a feature of the Sesqui-centennial exposition, brings forcibly to the fore the contribution of the Catholic clergy of France to the cause of American Independence. This pageant presented numerous scenes of primary importance connected with Catholic participation in the American revolution. Undoubtedly the least known and at the same time most significant feature of this powerfully conceived and splendidly produced Catholic pageant was the emphasis laid upon the immense sacrifice in money demanded of the French clergy for the prosecution of the war which led to our independence and the ready response of that august body in complying with the orders of the king. The fact of the gift of 30,000,000 livres (a livre is equivalent to the modern franc) by the hierarchy of France was not unknown to historians. In 1905 the Rt. Reverend John S. Michaud, Bishop of Burlington, Vermont, called public attention to the fact which had been communicated to him fifteen years earlier by a French priest in Paris. In January, 1907, Professor Thomas Dwight of Harvard University delivered an address in Fanueil Hall, Boston, which contained lengthy excerpts from the original documents in the national archives in Paris. Recently Mr. Foster Stearns procured in Paris photostatic copies of the documents for Holy Cross College, Worcester, Mass. They are in the custody of Rev. Mathew J. Fortier, S.J., of that institution. There were made available to the chairman of the pageant executive committee, the Rt. Rev. Msgr. Francis X. Wastl, P.R., whose critical mind was not yet satisfied, however. He at once perceived the weak point in his position, namely, that while it might be conceded that the French clergy actually voted the money, there was no proof given that it actually reached the king's treasury.

Through an agent whom Msgr. Wastl employed in Paris, the Royal Archives were searched and in due time the receipt for the sum indicated in the documents was brought to light, signed by "Charles Pierre Salvette . . . Conseiller du Roi en ses Conseils, garde de son Tresor royal . . ." who "confessed" to having received the "Don Gratuit" (free gift) of 30,000,000, accorded to his Majesty to meet the needs of the state, by "Messieurs du clerge de France . . ." Photostatic copies of these documents will be available to students in the Catholic historical library, Philadelphia, and copies will be deposited in other leading libraries, notably the manuscript division of the library of congress, so as to be accessible to all.

The aid rendered by Catholic France divides itself into two distinct periods; that from 1776 to 1778 during which she was ostensibly neutral and her aid secret, and that from 1778 to 1782 when it was open and avowed. During the first period she was testing the determination and endurance of the Colonists while providing them with just enough of "the sinews of war" to try their metal and leaving it to them to determine whether or not they should become later her worthy allies. This secret aid was arranged for long before the arrival of Benjamin Franklin in France. It was concerted with the French agent Baron de Beaumarchais on one hand and Silas Deane, envoy to the secret committee of congress, a lawyer-merchant of Connecticut and prominent delegate to the first and second continental congresses, on the other. On June 10, 1776, the French minister of foreign affairs, the Comte de Vergennes, entrusted to Beaumarchais 1,000,000 livres and secured the gift of another million from the king of Spain, to enable him to set in motion a vast commercial organization known as Roderigue Hortalez and company for the express purpose of supplying the colonists with their most pressing needs. Silas Deane arrived in France empowered to make purchases for the American army a few weeks later. These two men were the agents of the secret aid of France and they fulfilled their mission so successfully that the necessary equipment reached America in time to permit the campaign of 1777 which ended in the surrender of Burgoine at Saratoga, October 17, 1777. This fortunate event decided France openly to acknowledge American independence.

During the afore-mentioned period France gave the Colonists, besides the million entrusted to Beaumarchais, two millions more which were deposited with a French banker and upon which Franklin and the other commissioners could draw as needs required. The government also made a loan to congress of another million livres to enable it to establish its credit. After signing the treaties of amity and commerce in February 1778, the Court of Louis XVI announced its entry into the War of Independence for America by sending a French fleet to fight in American water and a minister plenipotentiary to reside close to congress. During their second period from 1778 to 1782, the government of France advanced to the Colonies in successive sums—in twenty-one installments—18,000,000 livres. In 1781 she obtained for the Colonies from Holland by going their security, and paying the interest in the beginning, a further sum of 10 millions, and in 1783 she loaned 16 millions more. In addition to this in 1781, at the close of the second period of the continental army's distress, 6,000,000

livres were given outright "from the generosity of the king," thus bringing the total of his gifts to 9 millions. However, this does not represent all, for historians are agreed that to this sum must be added the cancelled interest which is variously estimated at from 1,500,000 to 2,500,000 more.

From the first it had been the settled policy of Louis XVI and his minister Vergennes to avoid as far as possible any increased taxation which would throw the burden upon the common people. The earlier expenditures were made possible by the exercise of a strict economy, but in 1779 the king was forced to demand the aid of the clergy who responded by a gift of 16,000,000 livres, which enabled the king to liquidate back accounts. But the needs of the situation grew more pressing and fresh funds became a positive necessity if the war was to end quickly through prompt and vigorous action.

The documents show that during 1779 the policy of France was to withhold action for the double purpose of leaving the initiative in the hands of the Americans and to urge them on to exert to the utmost their own power. The situation rapidly became too critical, however, longer to defer. Franklin in 1780 made his great plea and the same year the young and gallant Colonel Laurens appeared before the king, a direct emissary from Washington and the congress. Louis saw that the time had come again to set active measures on foot. In the previous autumn he had ordered the convening of the French clergy for May 29, 1780, with the intention of making his great demand.

When the "promoteur de l'Assemblee" rose, his words revealed the surprise of the dignitaries of the Church at the vastness of the sum required of them—30,000,000 livres—but the thought of aiding in such a cause soon carried him away. He said: "I rejoice to see France fighting for the common cause and by glorious distinction, the clergy alone called to the honor of aiding the king in securing freedom of commerce and the safety of the sea!" Discussion then followed and when the provinces were called upon the result was a unanimous vote for the acceptance of the king's request.

The sum of 30 millions was later turned over to the royal treasury.

Some Famous Bells.—Archibald W. Couch says in the *Universe:*

The invention of the large bells now used in churches has sometimes been ascribed to St. Paulinus, who was Bishop of Nola, in Campagnia, during the fifth century. This is probably due to a desire to account for the low Latin name for a bell—"campana." Actually, however, the name is older than St. Paulinus, so that the honour of the invention belongs to some other—as yet unknown.

Be that as it may, the bell has for many centuries played an honoured part in religious history, and there is practically no famous church which has not at least one particularly famous bell.

In the cathedral church of Nôtre Dame there hangs a bell which dates from the days of St. Joan of Arc—the "blessed bell" which sounded the tocsin when the Maid of Orleans appeared in August, 1429, and Paris was beseiged by the English.

This historic bell, referred to by Victor Hugo in his "Nôtre Dame de Paris," was given to the cathedral in 1400 by Jean de Montaign. It was refounded in 1686, and then rebaptized under the name of Emmanuel Louise Thérèse, in honour of Louis XIV and Maria Theresa of Austria. Thus, although this present bell is not actually the same which the sainted maid heard, nevertheless it is made of the same metal.

It is a remarkable fact that, when all the other bells of Nôtre Dame were destroyed at the Revolution, this one alone should have been spared.

St. Mark's Convent, at Florence, now used as a museum, has preserved its old bell which was presented by Cosmo de Medici. This is known as the weeping bell, because it sounded the death knell of Savonarola, mingling its tones with the tears and groans of the crowd. It is not used nowadays, but kept in honored seclusion in the second cloister. The principal scheme of decoration on it is a frieze of children, said to have been executed by Michelozzo from designs by Donatello.

The bell of St. Patrick, preserved with its shrine in the Royal Irish Academy at Dublin, is reputed to have been bequeathed by the saint himself to a Belfast church in 557. It is somewhat crudely made out of two plates of sheet iron, bent over so as to make four sides, and fastened together by large-headed iron rivets.

The shrine for the bell was made in 1095, during what was probably the best metal-work period in Ireland's history, and is contemporary with the Ardagh Chalice, the Cross of Cong, the Lismore Crozier, and other famous works. This shrine is made of brass, the front being adorned with silver-gilt plates and knot-work in golden filigree. It is also decorated with gems and crystals, and on the sides are animal forms elongated and twisted into interlaced scrolls. Copies of both bell and shrine are in the Metropolitan Museum in New York.

To find the largest bells in the world—if Bolshevism has spared them—one must go to Moscow.

The largest of all is one which in Tsarist days was known as the **Tsar** Kolokol (Tsar Bell). Cast in the year 1733, an attempt was made to hang it so that it might be rung, but it broke from its supports and fell to the ground making a great hole, into which it sank. Here it lay for more than a century, until the Emperor Nicholas had it raised in 1836, and used it as a chapel, the broken side forming a doorway.

The weight of this bell is about 219 tons, it stands 19 feet 3 inches high, is 3 feet thick, and 22 feet 8 inches in diameter.

Moscow also contains the largest bell in Christendom, which is still in use (or was just before the War). This weighs 128 tons.

The largest bell in Europe outside Russia is the Kaiser-glocke (recently renamed Petrus-glocke), which was hung in Cologne Cathedral in 1875, being manufactured from the metal of French guns. Compared with the Russian monsters this is a very babe of a bell, weighing a mere twenty-five tons.

Smaller still are Big Ben of Westminster (14 tons) and Great Peter of York Minster (10 tons), while it seems strange that the great bell of St. Peter's, at

the very heart of Christendom, is even further outdistanced, weighing no more than 8 tons.

China claims to have in use two bells which are larger even than Moscow's 128-tonner. The larger of these hangs in the great Buddhist monastery near Canton. It is 18 feet high and 45 feet around, being cast of solid bronze. Its weight is unknown. This is one of the eight enormous bells cast by command of the Emperor Yung-lo about the year 1400. It cost the lives of eight men, who were killed in the process of casting. On both sides, it is covered with an inscription in embossed Chinese characters about half an inch long, covering even the top piece from which it swings, the total number of characters being 84,000.

It is perhaps not generally known that the bells of the Bastille are still in existence. After the destruction of the prison they were taken to the great foundry at Romilly, but the manager of the works disobeyed his orders to destroy them. They are now back in Paris in a private house.

A Calumny Shattered.—Writing in the October issue of *The Survey*, Rt. Rev. Francis C. Kelly, Bishop of Oklahoma, shatters the ancient calumny that the Catholic Church in Mexico oppressed the people by the collection of tithes and taxes that she possessed one-third of the wealth of Mexico and that Mexico is "priest-ridden." The Bishop says:

> "Did the Catholic Church in Mexico ever have one-third or two-thirds of the wealth of the nation? Calles makes the charge, but no one, thus far, has attempted to prove it. What are the facts?
>
> "Before 1857 the invested funds of the Church were ordered seized by the King of Spain for his own purposes. That was in 1804, fifty-three years before Juarez and the Laws of Reform. The crown of Spain secured $10,507,957.49. *(Boletin de la Sos. Mex. de Geo. y Est Primera Epoca*, Vol. 1, p. 137). But the King did not take all, for it was seen at once that the confiscation would cripple the educational and social work of Mexico. The actual amount of the invested funds for all Mexico was $44,500,000. *(Coleccion Davalos*, Vol. II, p. 866.)
>
> "The annual revenue of the Church by tithes, which was the form of collection for its support, is given by Humboldt. *(Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain;* Edition of 1822, Vol. III, p. 96.) During twenty years it averaged $1,584,048.90. The highest point was reached in 1809, when it amounted to $3,451,859.19. Over and above this, the monastic orders of men had $1,825,093 in invested funds, with an income of $147,047 from farm lands, $195,553 from city property, and annual offerings from the people of about $163,000. Such revenues would produce about $1.20 per day for each male member of a monastic order, leaving nothing for upkeep of buildings, books, etc. The income of nuns, based on the figures for investments and offerings, would give each nun $1.10 a day. *(Mora: El Libro de mis Recuerdos*, p. 21 et seq.)
>
> "The total amount of the wealth of the Church, including investments, farms and actual buildings, was placed by Dr. Mora, "the original authority for the tradition regarding the great wealth of the Church in Mexico," at $179,163,754. Duarte *(Disc. de Curiosidades Historicas*, p. 82) put it at $184,614,800. When the Juarez confiscation was completed, the Government, it is needless to say, has not profited by any such amount, but there was a new crop of potential millionaires growing in the country.

"It is but just to note that all this represented the savings of the Church and of her teaching and charitable orders, numbering thousands, for three hundred years. These received no personal salary. Now, the Baptist denomination in the United States is far from three hundred years old. The Year Book for that denomination for 1916 gives some standard of comparison for judging whether or not the Catholic Church in Mexico had accumulated beyond reasonable protection for her work. In 1916 the Baptists here had a population of 6,107,686. The year 1910 gave Mexico a total population of 6,122,354—approximately the same as the Baptists of America in 1916. Had Mexico too many churches? She had 10,112, while the American Baptists had 51,248. Was Mexico priest-ridden? She had 7,341 clergymen, while the Baptists had 36,926. For churches and unproductive property, the Church in Mexico shows $30,031,894 (Mora's tables); and the Baptists in America, $173,705,800 *(Year Book)*.

"To-day the Baptist denomination in the United States, after a little over one hundred years of existence, has about $100,000,000 in productive property, 60,000 churches, 50,000 ministers, $30,000,000 annual income, 7,500,000 adherents. The Catholic Church in Mexico has 15,000,000 adherents, 5,000 clergymen, 10,000 churches, no productive property, and an income, estimated on the fact that her 5,000 clergy must get at least enough to live on, of about $15,000,000.

"These figures speak for themselves. At its richest, the Church in Mexico had less than a certain American millionaire made in the course of his life-time; less than the endowments of three American universities."

England's First Franciscans.—The occasion of the sept-centenary of St. Francis has disclosed many facts hitherto not generally known. A Franciscan Friary was established in England a year before the death of St. Francis by a little band of Friars Minor who settled down in London. Four clerks and five laymen forming the group landed at Dover in 1224. Five were left at Canterbury.

The other four made their may to London, where they were received by the Dominicans. They stayed with the Friars Preachers for about a fortnight, then acquired a house of their own in Cornhill.

Their numbers increasing, they transferred themselves to what is now known as Newgate-street, and remained there till the Reformation. Queen Margaret, the second wife of Edward I, built them a choir and church. Queen Isabella, mother of Edward III, and his wife, Queen Philippa, were generous benefactors of the friars.

Many famous people were buried in the church. The bodies of four queens rested there, and the heart of Edward II, was buried there.

The citizens of London were always devoted to the friars. Sir Henry Le Waleys, who was Mayor of London five times, built the nave of their first church. Another Mayor, Sir William Joyner, built them a chapel, which was afterwards incorporated in Queen Margaret's church. All their property was held in trust for them by the City of London, in order that they might observe the vow of poverty. The site of Queen Margaret's Church is now occupied by Wren's Christ Church.

Having established themselves in the capital, the friars soon branched out into other parts of the country. A friary was established in Nottingham as

early as 1230, with the help of Henry III, who granted the friars timber for their chapel. Edward I also helped them. It was at one of the Nottingham friaries that Cardinal Wolsey lodged on his way to London as a prisoner in 1530.

A "Nodding Homer." -The *Literary Digest* for August 21 reproduces as a cover illustration Daguan-Bouveret's famous picture, *Le Pain Bénit*, the original of which may be seen at the Luxembourg, in Paris. The English rendition of *Pain Bénit* is not only erroneous, but worse. Had the copyist taken the trouble to consult a volume issued by the publishers of the *Literary Digest*, he would not have committed such an egregious blunder by Anglicising *Pain Bénit* as "Consecrated bread." We respectfully suggest to the *Literary Digest* to exercise a little more care in its editorial sanctum and advise the sapient gentlemen who constitute its editorial board to keep in mind that many subscribers and numerour readers are members of the Catholic Church whose cherished beliefs must not be travestied. For the information of those concerned I wish to state that the custom of the *Pain Bénit* was, and still is, quite common in the Province of Quebec during High Mass on Sundays. The custom was introduced by the early colonists as it had been in vogue for centuries in the Motherland. Its origin is uncertain, but it is usually ascribed to Council of Nantes. Bescherelle Aîné, in *Nouveau Dictionnaire National*, s.v., *the Pain Bénit*, has the following: "Cout. relig. *Pain Bénit*. Pain qui est bénit avec les cèrémonies de l'Eglise et que l'on distribue par morceaux à la grande mene dans les églises paroissiales. Quelqués savants en fixent l'institution au VII[e] siècle, dans le concile de Nantes."

The *Pain Bénit* was in early days given to catechumens so as to prepare them to receive Holy Communion. Later it was distributed to the faithful generally during High Mass.

Pioneers of Modern Gardening.—According to F. M. Verrall, F.R.H.S., D., Hort., monks were the pioneers of modern gardening. Writing in the *Universe* he says:

. . . They (the monks) had cornfields, vineyards, and orchards in the tenth century in England, and they also grew herbs for healing purposes.

Not much is known about their cultivation of flowers at that time, but a few centuries later the sacristan had his garden to provide blossoms for the altar.

Sometimes parish churches had flower gardens attached to them, a famous example being the plot of ground left to Eton College by its founder, Henry VI, for the express purpose of "growing flowers behovable and convenient for the services of the Church."

Flowers, which from the days of the early Church have been associated with church festivals, were used so freely in the Middle Ages that often the sacristan's garden could not provide sufficient. Churchwardens' accounts in old parish churches show that flowers—especially red roses—had to be bought for the crowning of priests and other clerics in the processions, for garlanding statues, and the candles.

"Gallondes for priests and clerics on St. Barnabas' day," in a London church in 1483. In another—St. Martin Outwich, "Rose garlands on Corpus Christie day," cost 6d. in 1524.

Two pence was paid for "byrche at Midsummer," "Palme on Palme Sunday," 2½d., "Brome against Easter," 1 d., and "Rose garlands on Corpus Christe day, 6d.," are some items.

The decoration of statues and large church candles was usual. A certain trade guild ordered "that a garlande of Roses be sett upon Seynt John's head every year," elsewhere "20d. was paid for the flowers for the torches."

But as time went on, fanatics objected to this use of flowers; especially did they abhor the crowning of priests in procession; so that at the Reformation, these gracious customs were dropped.

Rogation days were great days in the country, when priests and people in procession walked round the parish to bless the crops. That week was known as "Gang-week;" the blue flower, milkwort—worn by the girls in the procession—was the Rogation flower; and the Gospel oaks—still fairly numerous—are a witness that under their branches, the Gospel on Rogation days was read.

At weddings and funerals, certain herbs were greatly used. In the primitive Christian Church, flower crowns were put on the bodies of dead girls; St. Ambrose and St. Jerome both allude to the custom of placing flowers on graves.

In England, rosemary was the most beloved plant for both bridal and burying. Gilded sprigs of rosemary, together with bay and gilded corn ears, were woven into the bridal flower-wreaths; sprigs of rosemary were dipped in plain water for the mourners at funerals to strew on the graves, where sometimes a periwinkle wreath was put later.

Mexico's Patron—Our Lady of Guadalupe.—Before me lies a news item in the *Morning Post:* "Two thousand Mexicans assemble to honor their great patron at Guadalupe."

Florencia B. de Giralt thus tells the story of Our Lady of Guadalupe in the *Universe:*

Five miles from the City of Mexico stands in majestic splendour the great basilica of Our Lady of Gualalupe. Above the High Altar is the *imogen*, or sacred picture, bequeathed to the Mexicans by Juan Diego, the Aztec Indian, whose story can be told in sweet and rythmic Spanish by every little Catholic child in the Republic.

On December 12, 1666, Juan Diego worked at sifting sand on the dry and barren side of the Hill of Tepeyac, just above the village of Guadalupe. And on that day, at the spot, Our Lady appeared to him to give the good news that she was to be the Patron of Mexico.

Juan fell upon his knees in astonishment and joy when he saw the vision, and when Our Lady directed him to carry her message to the Archbishop in the city of Mexico he rose and ran along the hot and dusty road leading to the capital.

Arriving at the Archbishop's palace he tremblingly asked to be allowed to give his message, but when the Archbishop heard it he only accused Juan of being an idle dreamer, and drove him from the door.

Juan returned sadly to his work on the Hill of Tepeyac and continued to sift the sand and carry it to the heap in his tilma, a coarse canvas garment which served the Indians for warmth when required and at other times was used as a kind of sack for carrying materials.

Again, to his great surprise, Our Lady appeared to Juan Diego, and this time there was at her side a rose-bush. She gathered some of the flowers and, offering them to the Indian, said in tender tones of love and patience, "Carry these roses to the Archbishop and tell him that they are to be a sign that I have appeared and that I am the Patron of Mexico."

Juan hid the wonderful roses under the folds of his tilma, which was hanging from his shoulders, and once more went on his way to the city of Mexico. Again he asked to be allowed to see the Archbishop, and again his message was not believed.

"My father," the Indian said, with tears streaming from his eyes, "Our Blessed Lady has sent you these roses to prove to you that she has appeared."

"My son," the Archbishop said sternly, "is it so difficult to gather a few roses in the gardens of this palace? Learn that it is a sin to lie!"

At this moment, in sorrow and desperation, Juan let fall the tilma, and it hung straight down from his shoulders with the roses falling out of it at the Archbishop's feet.

Suddenly the Archbishop himself knelt. He raised the edge of Juan's tilma and reverently kissed it. The palpable evidence of the Vision was there; for shining in mystic colours upon the coarse canvas was the image of the Virgin, Our Lady of Guadalupe.

In late years, according to the history told at Guadalupe, the tilma was sent to Rome, and upon its return it was placed above the High Altar in the great shrine erected for it. It is there to this day.

Eastern Rites at Westminster. —The Eastern Liturgical Week which opened at Westminster Cathedral Hall on Tuesday, October 26, under the auspices of the Society of St. John Chrysostom, and under the presidency of Cardinal Bourne was an event of great interest and significance.

The Cardinal inaugurating the proceedings said he hoped that one great result of that Liturgical Week would be to give to their fellow-countrymen fresh evidence of the unity of the Catholic Church in the midst of the diversity and multiplicity of rites, a very important matter, not sufficiently understood in this country by their non-Catholic fellow-countrymen, and also not sufficiently understood even by many Catholics in their midst.

His Eminence dwelt with special emphasis on the Solemn Liturgy to be celebrated in Westminster Cathedral on Saturday morning. This had a special significance and importance, because it brought out very strikingly the contrast between Catholic and Protestant conceptions of worship, a contrast which was

very frequently manifested when there was question of what were called "United Services."

The Catholic attitude was often misunderstood. The Catholic and traditional note of worship was that it should be based on truth, and that the outward expression should be in harmony with the underlying truth which the worship endeavoured to set forth. The outward expression might vary very much, but the truth which it was intended to express must be identically the same in the minds of all who came together for the united worship of God. That was the great Catholic Christian traditional principle laid down by the Church.

The Protestant idea of worship was quite different, and must inevitably be so, because it was based on the principle of private judgment. Men might thus join together in worship so long as they uttered the same prayers and sang the same hymns, no matter how varied might be the meaning which they attached to the words said or sung. The basis of worship was for them not ascertained, unchangeable truth, but opinions as varied as the worshippers themselves, and thus all would utter the same words whilst holding opinions as different as those of Eutychians, Nestorians, Unitarians and the like.

Thus worship bore no longer, in their case, its due relation to religious truth. They said in reality, "Believe anything you like, so long as you kneel down and pray with me."

In the case of those who did not believe that there was such a thing as definite and ascertainable religious truth such an attitude was comprehensible, and participation in united services of the kind in question might be legitimate. But to a Catholic, who believed that there was definite and actually ascertained religious truth in religious matters, and who had accepted truth as the very foundation of his worship of God, participation in worship with those who did not believe as he did not only repugnant but manifestly unlawful.

It was tantamount to saying that unity of faith was of no consequence, and that it mattered not whether a man accepted or did not accept the full revelation of Jesus Christ, so long as he uttered the same formula of prayers, whatever the meaning he might attach to them.

To the Catholic it was the truth underlying the prayers that mattered. Its outward expression mattered little, provided it did not contradict or belie the underlying truth.

On Saturday next, at Westminster Cathedral, they would have a very notable example of this. The Holy Mass would be offered up according to the ancient Slavonic rite, and the ritual would be wholly unlike that used in any church in England. Yet, because this Liturgy showed forth identically the same truths as those manifested in the Latin rite, every Catholic, whatever his race or tongue, might lawfully participate in it.

It was the truth and the Mass which mattered, and here was a true Mass celebrated by a priest who, in communion with the Holy See, accepted the whole truth of Jesus Christ.

His Eminence wished that venture of faith every possible success. He felt that the Liturgical Week would be blessed by Almighty God.

The Very Rev. Canon Edmond Myers, M.A., in the *Catholic Times*, says of the celebration at the Cathedral:

The solemn celebration of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom in the old Church-Slavonic tongue, in Westminster Cathedral, is a matter of more than passing interest. It is the first time that the Byzantino-Slav Liturgy has been solemnly celebrated by a Russian priest in full communion with the Holy See, and it serves to draw the attention of English Catholics to a new religious development taking place at the present day.

The origin of Russian Christianity takes us back to the end of the tenth century, when the Byzantine rite, in its Slav form, was introduced by Saints Cyril and Methodius, and this form was approved by Rome. Russia thus became Christian when its Mother Church of Byzantium had not yet separated from Rome and was still an integral part of Catholic unity in its Eastern form.

Owing to various unfortunate circumstances Russia lapsed from Catholic unity, although its communion with the Holy See survived the separation of the Greek Church. A closer study of the separation of the Eastern Church brings home to us that in many parts of the East unity survived the fateful 1054.

When the twentieth century dawned the Russian Church was independent of Rome. The Catholic Church *had*, however, a place in Russia. But its members, although in the main of Russian citizenship, were in reality non-Russian in nationality; they were Poles, Lithuanians, Letts, White Russians, Georgians, French and others. Besides these there were the Armenians with their Armenian rite.

The Catholic Church became, and remained, a foreign Church—with the exception of individual cases of converts who, in joining the Church, forfeited all their legal and civil rights. Until 1905 it was impossible to speak of Russian Catholics, and the terms Russian and Orthodox were practically synonymous.

It was only after 1905, when the Tsar's Government granted liberty of conscience that the going over of Russians to Catholicism became possible, and that in Russia appeared groups of Russian Catholics.

As the use of the Eastern rite by Catholics was not tolerated within the limits of the Russian Empire, all who passed over to Catholicism before 1917 had to adopt the Latin rite, and by so doing class themselves with the non-Russian elements and adhere to what was counted a foreign Church. One could thus speak of Russian Catholics, but not of a Russian Catholic Church, and the distinction persisted as between the Orthodox Church synonymous with Russian and the Catholic Church looked upon as Latin, non-Russian, and foreign.

In 1917 the Provisional Government granted to Russians freedom of worship as well as freedom of conscience, and from that moment Russians passing into Communion with the Holy See were able to keep their Eastern rite. It was then that, for the first time since the separation, the question of a Catholic Russian Church, with a native Russian clergy, adhering to the Russian rite, became one of practical politics, and it is effectively from that year that the Russian Catholic Church dates at the present day; and in it we find the restoration of Christianity as it was in its origin in Russia.

Since 1917 Russians desirous of entering into communion with the See of Peter and of recognising the Pope as supreme authority in matters of faith and discipline were, by the will of the Supreme Pontiff Pius X, to form themselves into a group with the Exarch at its head. In this way was constituted the Russian Catholic Exarchate, and Mgr. Leonide Fedorov was appointed Exarch. His representative in Rome is Father Vladimir Abrikosoff, who will be the chief celebrant at the Liturgy in Westminster Cathedral.

The constitution of the Exarchate received the formal approval of Benedict XV in February, 1921. The development of Catholicism in Russia amongst Russians now became possible, and there sprang up Catholic parishes and religious communities of Russians in the Byzantino-Slav rite in various parts of Russia. This promising movement has been arrested by the circumstances and vicissitudes of recent years.

The Liturgy at Westminster will bring home to us that there is now in Russia a group formed of native-born Russians, who cling to their Russian race and nationality and who are in full communion with the Holy See, whilst at the same time retaining their hold on the glorious inheritance of Russian religious and national traditions and rites.

The members of the Society of St. John Chrysostom want to do what they can to bring to realisation Our Lord's prayer, "Ut unum sint." The world to-day, the religious world, is sick at heart, and outside the Communion with the Holy See it is tossed on every wind of doctrine.

We members of the Latin Church are proud of the rite that is ours, proud of the genius of the Roman rite, proud of the fact that we are Catholics and Latins and members of the greatest of the Patriarchates; but we also realise that, great as is the Latin Church, it is not the whole Body of Christ. Here are these ancient groups of churches in full communion with the Pope, whose liturgical rites are less familiar to us than they should be, who, in spite of every possible disadvantage—persecution, poverty, isolation, and absence of educational facilities—have clung firmly to the Faith. Let us never be guilty of the shameful injustice of ignoring their very existence, although they are over six and a half million in number.

There is something pathetic in the thought that the mere news of the foundation of this society has aroused interest in far distant lands; that from Czecho-Slovakia to Cyprus and Egypt, from Yugo-Slavia and Roumania to Iraq, it has aroused hope and courage that our fellow-Christians in union with Rome may look for sympathetic recognition from their brethren in England. It ought to be to us all a stimulus to greater effort, to more careful consideration of their problems and needs, so that we may remove the idea that their ancient rites and customs and traditions are looked down upon.

Within the present generation another movement akin to the Russian has come into being, and may be destined to lead to great things in the future. There is now a group of Greeks, in union, indeed, with Rome, but otherwise in liturgical rites and customs and manner of life, conforming to Greek usage. They will, we may hope, make it clear that the recognition of Papal prerogatives does not make a man less good a Greek citizen, nor less proud of the eccle-

siastical traditions which have come down from his ancestors before ecclesiastical unity was shattered.

If the members of the Society of St. John Chrysostom are to hope to do any good in the future, we must make up our minds to rid ourselves of many comforting illusions. We have *everything* to learn about the East, and we shall have to study very hard to achieve any real knowledge of it.

Assuming we know something of the geography and the topography of the lands in which our Eastern Christian brethren, out of communion with Rome, live; assuming we have familiarised ourselves with their manner of life and their literature, we shall still find it hard to master their psychology. For 1,000 years our paths have diverged: the whole of our modern Western civilization has grown up on the ruins of mediæval Europe. To confine our attention for the moment to matters theological, the great scholastic synthesis of theology, the great development of positive theology, the closer study of Scripture, the revival of theological studies in our own day, have, as far as we can judge, no parallel in the East.

An Epoch-Making Event.—The *Catholic Times* (October 29) says:

The consecration of six native Bishops for China, who came from the Far East to Rome to receive this plenitude of the priesthood at the hands of the Holy Father himself, may well be described as an epoch-making event. It marks a notable forward step in the evangelisation of the Chinese lands. There are already more Chinese priests than European missionaries in China and its tributary provinces, and now the Sovereign Pontiff is laying the foundation of the future Chinese episcopate. It was fitting that this should be an event of the Franciscan centenary year, for the sons of St. Francis were the pioneers of the Chinese missions. In the last years of the thirteenth century the Franciscan John of Monte Corvino reached the Mongol capital, Cambalu (the Peking of to-day). In 1307 Pope Clement V raised seven friars to the episcopate and sent them eastward to traverse Central Asia, reach China, and consecrate the pioneer missionary as Bishop of Cambalu and Primate of the Far East. So many were sent in order that some might survive the long and dangerous journey. Three only reached Cambalu, and John of Monte Corvino became the first Primate of a new hierarchy. He was succeeded by Nicholas of Paris, who reached the Far East with a party of twenty-six Franciscan friars and six lay-brothers. There are records of the mission and its succession of Bishops till about 1370. The wars and disturbances that followed the fall of the Mongol empire about this date brought the mission to an end. The new missions of China date from the landing of the Jesuit Father Matteo Ricci at Macao in 1582.

Some of the six prelates who have received episcopal consecration in Rome are Franciscans, sons of Chinese families that have been Catholics for several generations. One of them has already been in charge for more than a year of a mission district in Central China, entirely manned by native priests, over whom he was placed as Prefect Apostolic shortly before the Council of Shanghai. That great assembly of the Catholic missionaries of many nations and

the Chinese clergy was the crowning act of four years of fruitful labours on the part of Mgr. Constantini, the Apostolic Delegate to Peking. He has returned with the six Bishops-elect to Italy. It is not the first time that some of them have visited it. Amongst them are former students of the Propaganda, and one of the two Franciscan prelates, Mgr. Tcheng, was for a while, during his student years, a friar at the mountain sanctuary of Alverna, where St. Francis received the Stigmata. "Not only for China but for the whole Church the consecration of the six Bishops is an event of supreme importance," says the "Osservatore Romano." It recalls the memories of the past, testifies to the progress of the missions of China in our own time, and, as for the future, points to further development of the policy laid down by Benedict XV and Pius XI: that of working towards making the Churches of the Far East gradually independent of aid from Europe and America and endowing them with a native priesthood and episcopate.

The Lawyer Pope.—Mgr. W. P. H. Kitchin, Ph.D., of St. John's, Newfoundland, writing in the *Irish Rosary* tells an interesting story of Monsignor (now Cardinal) Cerretti and the French Bar:

> Some two years ago the members of the French Bar assembled at the Palace of Justice in Paris to participate in a most rare, curious, and memorable ceremony. They were to receive an official visit from Monsignor (now Cardinal) Cerretti, the Papal Nuncio, then accredited to the Government of the Republic. And what, pray, might the object of this visit be? What message could the Papal Ambassador have, what communication could he be charged to address to an assembly of lawyers? His business was to present to them, on behalf of His Holiness Pius XI, the portrait of a far-distant predecessor of his own—the portrait of Clement IV, who reigned as Pope from 1265 till 1268, and who, in the earlier part of his career, had been a lawyer and practiced his profession in Paris. That a full-fledged lawyer should become a priest or bishop is already sufficiently surprising; of this, however, there are some notable examples, for instance, St. Alphonsus Liguori, Père Lacordaire, Père de Ravignan. But that a lawyer should become the successor of St. Peter sounds like a tale from the "Arabian Nights," and deserves to be told. Guy Foucault, or Fulcodi, who became, as Clement IV, the hundred and eighty-eighth successor of St. Peter, was born at Saint-Gilles, in the neighborhood of Arles, somewhere between 1190 and 1195.

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